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BRITISH AMERICA.

VOL. I.

FALLS OF NIAGARA.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

AN

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

ACCOUNT

94281

OF

BRITISH AMERICA;

COMPREHENDING

CANADA UPPER AND LOWER,

VA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEWFOUNDLAND,
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, THE BERMUDAS,
AND THE FUR COUNTRIES:

R HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT; THE STATISTICS AND OGRAPHY OF EACH DISTRICT; THEIR COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, AND ERIES; THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION; AS ALSO AN ACCOUNT IE MANNERS AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES;

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A FULL DETAIL OF THE PRINCIPLES AND BEST MODES OF

EMIGRATION.

BY HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY,

BY JAMES WILSON, F.R.S.E. & M.W.S.
R. K. GREVILLE, LL.D.
AND PROFESSOR TRAILL.

SIX MAPS BY WRIGHT, AND TEN ENGRAVINGS BY JACKSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

MM. f. 14

EDINBURGH:
OLIVER & BOYD, TWEEDDALE COURT;
AND SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO. LONDON.
MDCCCXXXIX.

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ENTERED IN STATIONERS' HALL.

Printed by Oliver & Boyd,
Tweeddale Court, High Street, Edinburgh.

PREFACE.

THE Work now submitted to the Public will, it is hoped, equal in the interest of its subject any hitherto included in the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY. The territories of British America, even after having lost enough to constitute one of the greatest states in the world, embrace a very large proportion of the earth's surface, and present natural features at once extremely grand and romantic. The native inhabitants were distinguished by energy and intelligence above all the other rude tribes of the Western Continent, and displayed, perhaps beyond any similar race, the most striking peculiarities of savage life. Their long and fierce struggles, before yielding to the superior numbers and martial skill of Europeans, gave rise to scenes much more interesting than ever diversify the routine of civilized warfare. Finally, the exploits by which those regions were added to the dominion of Britain are readily acknowledged to rank among the most brilliant that adorn her annals in any age.

These colonies, too, have acquired an augmented importance from the great changes effected in our own times. Their rich and varied products, their vast extent, and the strong direction which emigrants from Britain have taken towards their shores, encourage the expectation that they will one day become the seat of great nations, equalling or even surpassing the power of the mother-country. A deep interest is naturally felt in their future prospects,

more especially when connected with the numbers, amounting during the last twenty years to nearly half a million, who have removed thither from various parts of the United Kingdom. Hence it has happened that many among us, who do not even know an individual in the adjacent county, find themselves bound, not by friendship only, but by the most intimate ties, with the dwellers in those transatlantic regions. All such persons must be desirous to receive information in regard to the capabilities of the country in which their friends are placed, and the hopes that may be entertained as to their future prosperity in that distant land. It may be added, that to the merchant and manufacturer, British America affords a market already very important, and susceptible of almost indefinite enlargement.

The Author, thus deeply impressed with the importance of his task, has anxiously sought every means of rendering its performance complete and satisfactory. In tracing the condition and history of the aboriginal tribes, as influenced by the early settlement of Europeans, he has had access to extensive works and collections in the French language, to which former writers in this country appear to have been strangers. He has devoted much attention to the still more important object of delineating the statistics and present state of the colonies; an undertaking which was attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the rapid changes which have recently occurred, and rendered all previous information in a great measure useless. Hence, besides the works of Bouchette, M'Gregor, Martin, and others, it was necessary to examine the tables published by the Board of Trade, the voluminous reports laid before Parliament, and to compare them with the narratives of the latest travellers and residents.

Even with all these resources, it was found impossible to render the information complete, without obtaining personal communications from various quarters. It is gratifying to the Author to mention, that on the mere statement of his object, and of the name of the Work for which he was collecting materials, the most valuable intelligence was cheerfully conveyed to him. Particular acknowledgments are due to Mr Simpson, the enlightened resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Establishment, who fortunately happened to be in England. An ill-founded impression, that the Company sought to shroud its transactions in mystery, had, it appears, deterred former inquirers. The Author, however, upon making an application, was met with a liberality almost unexampled, and was furnished with a large store of original information respecting their trade, and the general state of the fur countries.

A very well-informed gentleman, who long carried on mercantile transactions, and still maintains an extensive correspondence in Canada, contributed the valuable chapter on the commerce of the two provinces. An intelligent friend, filling an important situation at St John, Newfoundland, transmitted full and recent statistical details relative to that interesting colony. Respecting Prince Edward Island, very useful materials were frankly supplied by Mr Stewart, a gentleman deeply concerned there both as proprietor and manager. To Mr Bruyeres and other distinguished persons connected with the Land Companies, the Author is indebted for several important communications. From other sources of high authority, which cannot here be fully particularized, valuable information, otherwise inaccessible, has been obtained.

The reader will appreciate one peculiar difficulty under which the Author laboured, namely, that while

he was composing the Work, and even superintending its passage through the press, the subject was undergoing an incessant change; and at length the principal provinces became the theatre of some very momentous occurrences. He has assiduously studied to trace, by means of the most authentic documents, the course of those events, and to exhibit them in a condensed and connected view. He hopes that he has thereby conveyed to the general reader a more distinct idea of their nature than could have been derived from scattered notices in the daily journals. At a crisis so important, when the two principal colonies are about to receive a new form, he has felt himself justified in submitting such reflections on the various methods proposed as a long study of the subject has suggested to him. These, however, he has anxiously sought to rest, not upon ephemeral interests, or the exclusive reasoning of any political party, but upon enlarged views of history and government, which ought alone to guide legislators in so important a measure, of which the consequences will be so serious and so durable.

Emigration, the most important light under which British America can be viewed, will be found to have occupied a very prominent place in the writer's researches. He has endeavoured to supply the intending settler with more comprehensive and precise details than have hitherto been collected. The prospects which will open to the emigrant, the course which he ought to pursue, the difficulties to be encountered, and the best means of overcoming them, have been considered at full length. In subservience to this object, a very minute account has been given of the different districts, their situation, climate, and soil, in connexion with their natural and acquired advantages of every description.

The different branches of Natural History,—Zoology,

Botany, and Geology,—have been very carefully illustrated by Mr Wilson, Dr Greville, and Professor Traill,—gentlemen whose names afford a sufficient guarantee for the value and accuracy of their information. These ample details, combined with others in a former volume of the series, will present an instructive view of those remarkable features which Nature displays throughout the northern part of the American Continent.

To illustrate these various subjects the utmost care has been taken to prepare a series of Maps, exhibiting at once the general geography of British America and its most important localities. One, on a large scale, comprehends all the provinces already occupied, while four of smaller dimensions show the topography of those districts in Lower and Upper Canada which are best adapted for settlement. Various divisions and towns that have recently sprung up, and could not be included in any former map, have been carefully marked. To the Third Volume is annexed a delineation of the whole of the Northern and Western Regions which form the theatre of the fur-trade and of those recent expeditions which had for their object an extended knowledge of the remote shores and neighbouring seas. The most picturesque features of costume and scenery have been made the subject of wood-engravings by Mr Jackson.

June 17, 1839.

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CHAPTER I.

General View of British America, and particularly of Canada.

Extent and Boundaries—General Aspect—Limits of the present Work—Canada, its Boundaries and general Features—Lakes—Superior—Huron—St Clair—Erie—Niagara Channel—Lake Ontario—Islands and Rapids of the St Lawrence—The Ottawa—The St Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec—Its lower Course—This Region remarkable for its Waterfals—Niagara—Its Description—Supposed Changes in its Position—Climate—How it differs from that of Europe—Effects on Agriculture—Boundary Question with the United States—Reference to the King of Holland—Its Issue.

THAT portion of North America claimed by Britain, and which is generally recognised by the civilized world as belonging to her, forms a region of immense extent, embracing considerably more than a third part of the entire continent. On the north its boundary is the coast of the Arctic Ocean, westward as far as the 141st degree of longitude. The region beyond, by a treaty concluded in 1825, was assigned to Russia, though the survey of its shores, still very incomplete, has been

chiefly effected by British navigators. The line of the northern shore runs nearly along the 70th parallel of latitude, though at different points it slightly deviates from it. All the large islands in the Arctic Sea belong also, by right of discovery, to England; though their value, unconnected with the several fisheries, is by no means considerable.

The eastern limit, coinciding also with that of the continent, is formed by the Atlantic and its bays, from the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, in about lat. 70° N., to the mouth of the St Croix, the southern boundary of New Brunswick, in lat. 45° 5′ N. Along this coast, too, Britain has several large islands; on the north, Cockburn and Cumberland; farther south, Newfoundland, with the exception of a small portion occupied by France; and those of Cape Breton and Prince Edward in the Gulf of St Lawrence.

From the St Croix, the southern boundary extends in a long irregular line across the continent. After including New Brunswick and a large part of Canada, it strikes the St Lawrence at St Regis, in long. 74° 45′ W. about sixty miles above Montreal. From that point the river, with its grand chain of connected lakes, divides the British territory from the United States. Commencing again at the head of Superior, the frontier stretches to the north-western angle of the Lake of the Woods, in lat. 49° 20′ N.; and following this parallel it runs across the continent to the Rocky Mountains, beyond which considerable uncertainty prevails. By a convention signed at London in October 1818, all questions connected with this remote region were left open for ten years; but that period was allowed to elapse without any decision being formed on the subject. The United States, Britain, and Russia, advance respectively certain pretensions which do not well harmonize, but these our present object does not lead us to examine minutely. Farther north, however, the boundary of the provinces claimed by the court of St Petersburgh has been fixed in a direct line along the 141st degree of

west longitude, extending from Mount St Elias to the Arctic Ocean.*

The British dominions in America are understood to be situated between the parallels of 41° 47′ and 78° north latitude, and between 52° and 141° of west longitude. It may be observed, however, that the eastern and northern boundaries are both insular, and comprehend vast tracts of ocean. If we assume limits on the mainland, we must take, on the east, Cape Charles in Labrador, in about long. 55° 30′ W.; and on the north, Cape Clarence in Boothia, in about lat. 74° N.; though indeed on the latter side no considerable mass of the continent extends beyond 70°. Thus the whole area amounts to nearly 4,000,000 square miles. Of this vast space the greater portion wears an aspect peculiarly dreary, being buried the greater part of the year in snow, and producing nothing valuable except the skins and furs of the wild animals that roam over its surface. Yet there seems reason to think that, as cultivation advances and the means of intercourse are improved, very extensive tracts may be found fitted for all the productions of the temperate zone.

The tenure by which Britain holds the larger share of these wild domains is of a peculiar and somewhat equivocal nature. Her claim, which is not admitted by the original owners, is allowed only by other powers equally destitute with herself of any natural right; and yet, when we consider that though she dispossesses a few naked savages, she plants numerous colonies consisting of a civilized and industrious population, there will appear little reason to condemn her conduct. If provision be duly made for the subsistence and wellbeing of the natives, it will be acknowledged that the benefits of European occupation are so great as fully to compensate for any defect in the title.

It is not, however, our intention to take a minute

* Bouchette, British Dominions in North America (2 vols 4to, London, 1831), vol. i. pp. 10, 13-18.

survey of those outer tracts, many of which are unknown to Britain herself, and whose inhabitants have never heard her name. These have been the object of recent discovery, the results of which have been satisfactorily stated in a former volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.* The present work will relate to the smaller, but more important part, which has been regularly reduced into provinces, and is gradually falling under cultivation; comprehending Canada Upper and Lower, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, with certain detached settlements on the shores of Labrador and Hudson's Bay.

These colonies are naturally divided into two classes, distinct in their situation and character: 1. The inland provinces, watered only by great lakes and rivers; and, 2. The maritime provinces, or such as extend along the shores of the Atlantic.

Canada, Upper and Lower, is as yet the only part of British America which belongs to the first class. Though forming, as it were, only one country, it is more extensive, more productive, and more populous than all the maritime provinces united; and besides, it is the principal resort of emigrants from the mother-country. To its history and description we shall therefore devote the first portion of this work.

Canada is bounded on the north by a range of hills separating it from the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company; on the east, by Labrador, the Gulf of St Lawrence, and New Brunswick; and on the south, by the United States. The western limit is very vague; but usage does not seem to extend it further than Lake Superior. Canada may therefore be described as lying between the meridians of 57° 50′ and 90° W., and the parallels of 42° and 52° N.; being about 1300 miles from east to west, and 700 from north to south. The area is estimated at 348,000 square miles.†

* No IX. Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America.

† Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 63, 64, 173–182.

Canada, in a general view, consists of a very extensive plain, situated between two ranges of high land; one on the north, separating it from the Hudson's Bay territory, another on the south, dividing it from New Brunswick and the United States. The grounds which stretch along the borders of the St Lawrence and the lakes are esteemed the most valuable portion of it. Neither of the ranges now mentioned aspires to an alpine character; nor, if we except Mars Hill in the disputed territory, does any part of them appear to reach 2000 feet. But they extend over a vast surface, are very broken and rugged, covered with dense forests, while torrents dash down their sides, filling the valleys with numerous lakes. Both on the north, in the upper part of Quebec district, and on the south, in that of Gaspé, the hills press on the banks of the river, giving to it an air of much grandeur. Higher up they recede, and form on either side a gradually-widening and beautiful plain, susceptible of the most perfect cultivation. In Upper Canada this level tract attains a very great breadth, and partly includes the basin of the noble stream of the Ottawa. On the west it appears to terminate with Lake Huron; for the northern coast of that fine sheet of water, as well as of Lake Superior, is flanked by the mountains,—a circumstance which renders their shores rough and craggy. It is said that behind this rocky screen there is much valuable land still uncultivated.*

But the characteristic feature of this region is its waters, more particularly its immense lakes, which, in respect to depth and extent of surface, have no equal on the face of the earth. The Caspian certainly exceeds the largest of them, separately considered; but that great body of *salt* water, besides being comparatively very shallow, has no outlet; whereas the Canadian lakes supply, without apparent diminution, the vast stream of the St Lawrence. The smallest of them is tossed by tem-

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 185, 186, 283-294, 297, 298.

pests like the ocean, and on its surface war was recently waged in ships of the first magnitude.

Lake Superior is the largest of these inland seas, and indeed the most extensive body of fresh water in the world. Its form is an irregular crescent, having the convex side towards Canada; it is very broad in the centre; but the south-eastern and south-western extremities terminate almost in points. Its length, following the line of the curve, is estimated by Captain Bayfield at 360 geographical miles, the greatest breadth at 140, and the circumference about 1500. Its surface appears to be 627 feet above the level of the Atlantic, and the shores afford indications of its having once been 40 or 50 feet higher. The soundings have been given variously from 480 to 900 feet; and the greatest depth is believed to be about 1200. The transparency of the water is completely crystalline, rendering rocks, even at extraordinary depths, distinctly visible. The bottom consists chiefly of a very adhesive clay, which speedily indurates on exposure to the atmosphere. In violent gales, the waves rise nearly as high as those on the ocean; and though there are of course no tides, the wind, when it blows strongly from any one point, throws the water with considerable force on the opposite shore. In spring, too, it is sometimes greatly swelled by the melting of the snows.

This lake, as formerly observed, is bordered by hills, which in some places rise precipitously from the shore, and in others leave intervals of various breadth, amounting occasionally to fifty or seventy miles. It is remarkable, that while every other large lake is fed by rivers of the first order, this, the most capacious on the surface of the globe, does not receive a third or even fourth rate stream; the St Louis, the most considerable, not having a course of more than 150 miles. But whatever deficiency there may be in point of magnitude, it is compensated by the vast number which pour in their copious floods from the surrounding heights. The dense covering of wood, and the long continuance of frost, must also in-

this region greatly diminish the quantity drawn off by evaporation.*

The surplus waters of Lake Superior enter near its south-eastern extremity into St Mary's Channel, by which they are transmitted into Lake Huron, nearly forty miles distant. About midway are St Mary's Falls, scarcely entitled to this appellation, being merely a continued cataract, in which the current forces its way through broken rocks with tremendous noise, and amid clouds of foam. These rapids cannot be ascended; but canoes, though with great danger, sometimes shoot downwards. The more prudent avoid them by a portage of two miles.

The Huron, into which this channel expands, is the second in succession as well as in magnitude of this great chain. Its outline is very irregular, but may, in a general view, be said to have three sides, two facing the north and east, and belonging to Canada; while the third looks to the south-west, and forms part of the United States. Its extreme length, from the entry to the outlet, is about 240 miles; its breadth is not less than 220; and the circumference is supposed to be nearly 1000. Its surface is only thirty-two feet lower than that of Superior; and it is equally distinguished by its extraordinary depth, estimated at 900 or 1000 feet, and by the brilliant transparency of its waters. A range of islands runs parallel to its northern shore, and, with the peninsula of Cabot, separates almost completely the upper part from the main body, so that it was considered by the earliest discoverers as a distinct basin. Among these islands the chief is the Great Manitoulin, seventy-five miles long, viewed by the Indians with superstitious awe as the chosen abode of their Great Spirit. At the outlet of the St Mary the two islets of St Joseph and Drummond are fortified as frontier-stations, the former by Britain and the latter by the United States. The coast is

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 127, 128. Darby's View of the United States (18mo, Philadelphia, 1828), p. 200.

generally rugged, broken into heights of from 30 to 100 feet, formed of clay, rolled stones, precipitous rocks, and woody steeps. Towards the north the bold ridge of the Cloche Mountains exhibits several lofty summits; but the eastern territory is wholly dissimilar, and forms one of the finest portions of the great plain of Upper Canada. This lake receives the Maitland, Severn, Moon, and French rivers,—broad streams, though not of long course, —but its chief supply is from the St Mary. Near its north-western point a narrow strait connects it with the lake of Michigan, entirely included within the boundary of the United States. It is equally deep and clear with Huron, and, though nearly on a level with that lake, is not completely so, as a constant current sets from the former into the latter.

The Huron pours out the surplus of its waters at its southern extremity, thus carrying in that direction the great chain of communication. A channel called the River St Clair, after a course of about thirty miles, expands into the comparatively small lake of the same name. Thence issues the Detroit, a spacious stream celebrated for the beauty and fertility of the adjacent country. Both it and the lake, however, are so shallow, as not to admit vessels which draw more than seven or eight feet of water.*

After running twenty-nine miles, the Detroit opens into the grand expanse of Lake Erie, about 265 miles long, and at its centre sixty-three broad, the circumference being estimated at somewhat less than 658. The surface is calculated to be 565 feet above the level of the ocean; making it thirty feet lower than Huron, and sixty-two than Superior. The depth seldom amounts to 270 feet; and the difficulties of the navigator are increased by the want of harbours and anchorage, as well as by the projecting promontories, which render a frequent change of course necessary. The direction of the great water-communication, which, from the head of

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 133, 134. Darby, p. 203-206.

Lake Huron, has been nearly due south, changes here to the north-east, till it opens into the Gulf of St Lawrence. The coasts, almost equally divided between the British and Americans, are generally very fertile. Lake Erie has acquired a peculiar importance, from having become the main centre of inland navigation. The two great canals reaching from it to the Hudson on one side, and the Ohio on the other, render it a medium of communication between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico. The Welland canal and river, joining it to the Ontario, form a channel by which it is expected that a great part even of the produce of the United States will be henceforth transmitted.*

The outlet of Lake Erie, at its north-eastern point, is the Niagara Channel, which, after pursuing its course thirty-three miles and a half, opens into Lake Ontario. In its progress it forms those stupendous falls which have no equal in the world, and will be afterwards described; but as they interrupt the navigation, a canal has been formed on a nearly parallel line, to unite the two lakes for commercial purposes. The waters, in passing to Ontario, are calculated to fall 334 feet; this lake being so much lower than Erie, and consequently only 231 feet above the level of the Atlantic.

Ontario, the smallest of the great lakes, extends almost due east, with some inclination northwards; it is 172 miles long, 59¼ broad, and about 467 in circumference. The depth of water varies from 15 to 300 feet; and in the middle, a line of 300 fathoms has been let down without reaching the bottom. The banks are generally level, though a ridge of moderate height rises at some distance from its western and north-western shores. They are for the most part covered with wood, though now variegated with partial and increasing cultivation. Toronto and Kingston on the British, and Sackett's Harbour on the American side, are excellent stations, in which fleets have

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 134-137. Darby, p. 206-208. Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada (2 vols. 8vo, London, 1822), vol. ii. p. 53.

been constructed, including ships of the largest size. There are several small islands at the eastern extremity, of which the principal is named Grand Isle. The long and winding bay of Quinté, to the west of Kingston, encloses a very beautiful and fertile peninsula.*

From the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario issues the stream which bears now, for the first time, the name of St Lawrence, though it has also been called Iroquois and Cataraqui. Its channel is here so spacious that it is called the Lake of the Thousand Islands. The vast number implied in this name was considered a vague exaggeration, till the commissioners employed in fixing the boundary with the United States actually counted them, and found that they amounted to 1692. They are of every imaginable size, shape, and appearance; some barely visible, others covering fifteen acres; but in general their broken outline presents the most picturesque combinations of wood and rock. The navigator in steering through them sees an ever-changing scene, which reminded an elegant writer of the Happy Islands in the Vision of Mirza. Sometimes he is enclosed in a narrow channel; then he discovers before him twelve openings, like so many noble rivers; and soon after a spacious lake seems to surround him on every side.†

At the end of this reach the St Lawrence is obstructed by an island in the centre, producing what is termed the *Long Sault*. The stream, rushing through a narrow passage on each side, hurries on the bark with dangerous velocity; and the two currents, meeting at the lower end, dash against each other, forming what is called the *Big Pitch*. The river then, expanding to the breadth of more than five miles, is named the Lake of St Francis. At its termination begins a succession of very formidable rapids, named the Coteau du Lac, the Cedars, the Split Rock, and the Cascades, which, continuing about nine

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 151. M'Gregor, British America (2 vols 8vo, Edinburgh, 1832), vol. ii. p. 533-535.

† Howison's Sketches of Upper Canada (8vo, second edition, Edinburgh, 1822), p. 46. Bouchette, vol. i. p. 156.

miles, completely interrupt the navigation for vessels of even moderate dimensions. The hardy Canadian boatmen indeed contrive, with poles ten feet in length, to force through certain flat-bottomed barks of from six to twenty tons. Huge rafts of timber are also seen descending the current; but passengers by steam leave the vessel at one end of the declivity and re-embark at the other. Great operations, however, are now in progress to overcome these obstacles, and to secure a safe navigation to the inland seas.

Below these rapids the river spreads out into Lake St Louis, near which there is a beautiful fall bearing the same name. This impediment to navigation has been recently overcome by a canal called La Chine. The St Lawrence now receives an important accession by the influx of the great stream of the Ottawa from the north-west, after a course of about 450 miles,* through an extensive plain, generally very fertile, and covered with magnificent forests. These rivers at their junction form several large islands, on the principal of which is built the city of Montreal.†

Below that place the St Lawrence presents a magnificent expanse, navigable for vessels of 600 tons, thus giving to the town just named all the advantages of a seaport. About forty-five miles farther down, indeed, where it widens into the Lake of St Peter, it becomes somewhat shallow, and allows only a narrow passage to large ships. Again, about ninety miles nearer the ocean, the rocks forming the Richelieu rapids so contract the channel as to render it unsafe unless at particular periods of the tide. At Quebec, it narrows to 1314 yards; yet the navigation is completely unobstructed, while there is formed near

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 187. According to Mr M'Gregor, Brit. Amer. vol. ii. p. 525, this river "is said to have its source near the Rocky Mountains, and to traverse in its windings a distance of 2500 miles." He adds, that it certainly flows ten or twelve hundred miles before joining the St Lawrence. We have no hesitation, however, in preferring the sober statement of Bouchette to these extravagant estimates.

† Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 156, 162-211.

the city a capacious harbour. About twenty-one miles lower, its waters, beginning to mingle with those of the sea, acquire a saline taste, which increases till, at Kamouraska, seventy-five miles nearer its mouth, they become completely salt. Yet custom, with somewhat doubtful propriety, considers the river as continued down to the island of Anticosti, and bounded by Cape Rosier on the southern, and Mingan Settlement on the northern shore.*

"In considering the St Lawrence as one of the grand hydrographic features of the globe, different views have been taken. Some authors consider it as originating in Lake Ontario, and view the interior channels as only the means of uniting one lake with another. Yet when it is considered that there is a continued current from the most remote tributary of Lake Superior to the Gulf of St Lawrence, we may seem justified in regarding it as an entire river, extending upwards of 2000 miles, and forming one of the most important water-communications on the face of the earth.

In this river-system a striking and peculiar class of objects is exhibited on a grander scale than in any other region; we mean the waterfals. These are not, indeed, like such as descend from alpine precipices, distinguished by height or by the picturesque forms of the rocky cliffs amid which they are precipitated; but while the latter are usually mere streamlets, the others are mighty rivers, swelled to their full magnitude, and pouring the entire volume of their waters into the abysses beneath.

Among these cataracts of Northern America there is one which stands without a rival,—Niagara. Here an immense river, after receiving the surplus waters of four extensive lakes, projects them downward in a united mass. In general, when such large streams are obstructed by rocky barriers, they force their way through them in a number of narrow channels, with noise and impetuosity, but without any considerable descent. There

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 164-169.

is scarcely another instance where a sea-like flood, having brought its whole weight of waters to the brink of a lofty precipice, throws them down in one unbroken sheet. The fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen alone, though without either its height or volume of water, bears some resemblance to that of Niagara, which is acknowledged to be not only the greatest of cataracts, but, according to the general opinion of travellers, the sublimest object on earth. The ocean and the gigantic steeps of the Andes or the Himmaleh may include scenery of more varied magnificence, but probably exhibit no single spectacle so striking and so wonderful.

Without attempting to convey to the reader's mind any image of this stupendous scene, which perhaps no human pen can ever accomplish, we will simply state the elements in which its grandeur appears to consist. Several objects that compose the chief beauty of other celebrated waterfals are altogether wanting. There are no cliffs reaching to an extraordinary height, crowned with trees, or broken into picturesque and varied forms; for, though one of the banks is wooded, the forest-scenery on the whole is not imposing. The accompaniments, in short, rank here as nothing. There is merely the display, on a scale elsewhere unrivalled, of the phenomena appropriate to this class of objects. There is the spectacle of a falling sea, the eye filled almost to its utmost reach by the rushing of mighty waters. There is the awful plunge into the abyss beneath, and the reverberation thence in endless lines of foam, and in numberless whirlpools and eddies. There are clouds of spray that fill the whole atmosphere, amid which the most brilliant rainbows, in rapid succession, glitter and disappear. Above all, there is the stupendous sound, of the peculiar character of which all writers, with their utmost efforts, seem to have vainly attempted to convey an idea. Bouchette describes it as "grand, commanding, and majestic, filling the vault of heaven when heard in its fulness,"—as "a deep round roar, an alternation of muffled and open sounds," to which there is nothing exactly corre-

sponding. He mentions the report made from a little distance by a great naval battle like that of the Nile; but this few can have experienced. Captain Hall's similitude to the ceaseless, rumbling, deep, monotonous sound of a vast mill, though not very poetical, is generally considered as approaching nearest to reality. The diffusion of the noise is impaired by the rocky heights that enclose the fall, and perhaps even by the volume of spray which it throws up around itself. It varies also according to the state of the atmosphere and the direction of the wind; but under favourable circumstances it reaches to Toronto, across Lake Ontario, distant forty-six miles. Some have thought that the absence of the accompaniments above alluded to impairs its effect; while others, perhaps with reason, conceive that these would only distract the attention from the one great object; and that this is more deeply felt when there is nothing seen but the cataract itself, "no sound but its eternal roar."

The Niagara Channel, as already mentioned, extends from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the falls are situated twenty miles from the former and thirteen from the latter. Being occasioned only by a general and not very great descent in the level of the land, there is nothing in the country around to indicate the vicinity of such a striking phenomenon. From the Erie boundary, in particular, the approach is along a smooth though somewhat elevated plain; through which the river, about a mile in breadth, flows tranquilly, bordered by fertile and beautiful banks, and enclosing a large island. The deep awful sound, however, is soon heard, and becomes gradually louder. Yet nothing appears till about a mile above the fall, when the water begins to ripple, and a little below is broken into a series of dashing and foaming rapids, which form a grand spectacle. The stream then becomes more tranquil, though rolling with prodigious rapidity, till it reaches the brink of the great precipice.

The fall itself is divided, by the intervention of Goat

Island, into two unequal portions. The one called the British, or Horse Shoe, according to the most careful estimate is 2100 feet broad, and 149 feet 9 inches high. The other or American fall is only 1140 feet broad, and even in proportion to this inferior dimension pours a much smaller body of water. It has indeed some picturesque beauty, being lined by a wooded shore, and diversified by a number of small islands covered with stunted cedar. Its height is about 164 feet. The British one, however, being that in which the phenomenon is presented on the greatest scale, simple and without accompaniment, is properly *the* fall. The most approved point of view is from the Table Rock, that reaches close to the waters, and forms part of the very ledge over which they descend. A daring visiter may even, by lying flat on his face, stretch out his hand, and plunge it into the descending surge; and it is from this station that the nearest view of the cataract is obtained, and all its vastness is most distinctly perceived. An elevated spot behind affords a more extensive but less imposing survey, which however combines the surrounding scenery. Nearly half a mile below, at a small chasm in the cliff, a spiral staircase leads the traveller down towards the water, and a narrow slippery path, amid fragments of rock, conducts him up to the foot of the fall, and even a little above. To look from beneath on this immensity of rushing waters produces a peculiar sentiment of mingled grandeur and terror. Some travellers even venture into a singular hollow formed beneath the rocky ledge, where they may see in front the descending flood, and be wet only by its spray. Hennepin asserts that four coaches might be driven abreast through this awful chasm; and several individuals have penetrated this recess to the distance of more than a hundred and fifty feet.

Goat Island, as already observed, divides the two falls, interposing between them its perpendicular façade, 984 feet in breadth. Its length, extending up the river, is nearly half a mile. It was unapproached by human

foot till Mr Porter, proprietor of extensive mills at Manchester on the American side, contrived, by sinking strong caissons in the water, flowing perhaps eighteen miles an hour, to rear a wooden bridge 1000 feet long, and practicable for carriages. A road, now formed round the island, commands very fine views both of the fall and the rapids above. This spot is richly clothed with trees, among which the light foam is often seen flying. It is described as a little Elysium, amid the chaos of the surrounding elements.

The waters projected down this awful steep continue for some space in a state of violent agitation; yet a ferry has been established about half a mile below, across which the passenger is wafted over the heaving current without serious danger. The high level of the country extends seven or eight miles lower, to Queenston and Lewiston, for which space the Niagara rolls through a rocky channel, between high and steep banks, its breadth contracted to a quarter of a mile. Somewhat more than half-way down, high cliffs, encircling the current in a peculiar manner, cause it to wheel round with an impetuous violence, which would instantly destroy any object that should come within its action. This is called the Whirlpool. Below Queenston the ground sinks by a steep descent to the level of the Ontario basin. The river then emerges, and again rolls a smooth stream between level and cultivated banks.*

This great fall has excited an additional interest from the remarkable change supposed to have taken place as to its position. It is believed that the impetuous waters, wearing away the rock over which they descend, are gradually removing the cataract higher up the river. By this process it is said to have receded from a point between Queenston and Lewiston, to which, as already observed, the high level of the country continues, and to have excavated the present deep and narrow channel

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 138-146. Howison, p. 108-121. Darby, p. 211-213. Stuart, Three Years in North America (2 vols 8vo, 2d edit. Edinburgh, 1833), vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.

more than seven miles in length. Upon this point geologists and travellers seem generally agreed, the only difference being as to the rate at which the change proceeds. Mr Gourlay, long a resident, says the oldest inhabitants think that the Great Fall has receded "*several paces.*" Mr M'Gregor mentions an estimate which fixes this recession at eighteen feet during the thirty years previous to 1810; but he adds another more recent, which raises it to 150 feet in fifty years. Lastly, Captain Hall heard it reckoned, by two persons long resident on the spot, at 150 feet in forty years. This measure, having been adopted by Mr Lyell in his recent work on geology, may be considered as the established belief on the subject.*

It is not without particular diffidence that we oppose a conclusion thus almost unanimously formed by the most eminent writers. Yet we think we can state facts, of which they were apparently not aware, and which seem completely to refute the supposition that any considerable change has taken place, or is perceptibly in progress, as to the site of this extraordinary object.

We possess two early descriptions of these falls; one by Father Hennepin in 1679, very nearly 160 years ago, illustrated by a plate; the other by Charlevoix in 1721. Now, on comparing these delineations with the best accounts given by recent travellers, it appears impossible to discover any sensible difference between them. In answer to this it may indeed be asserted, that the cataract, wearing away its rocky ledges in an equable manner throughout, may have considerably changed its place, yet retain still nearly the same dimensions and aspect.† But this supposition seems precluded by the

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 146. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 546. Hall's Travels in America (3 vols 12mo, second edition, Edinburgh, 1830), vol. i. p. 195. Lyell's Principles of Geology (4 vols 12mo, 5th edition, London, 1837), vol. i. p. 278.

† Hennepin, Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays dans l'Amerique (18mo, Utrecht, 1697), pp. 44-46, 443-452. Charlevoix, Journal of a Voyage to North America (2 vols 8vo, London, 1761), vol. i. p. 353-356. Hennepin, judging only by the eye, exaggerates

existence in its centre of one great fixed object,—the immense rampart of Goat Island,—which, while it divides the two falls, is on a line with both, or, according to Bouchette, forms along with them the chord of an irregular arc. Now, Hennepin's description, and more particularly his plate, represent the island as dividing the falls, and standing every way in the same relative position to them that it now does. But if the cataracts had changed their place in the manner supposed, they must have receded behind the lower extremity of the island, which would thus have been thrown forward, and appeared in front of them in the middle of the stream. If we assume Captain Hall's estimate, there must have been a change, since Hennepin's date, of 600 feet or nearly a furlong, which would have caused a most conspicuous alteration in the relative position of these objects. Some may urge that the lateral action of the falling waters might demolish this projecting front, and thus cause the island-boundary to recede along with them. Such an hypothesis seems quite out of the question as applicable to this huge mass, nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth. Even supposing it possible, a rock thus demolished from two opposite sides must have been irregularly acted upon, reduced to a broken and shattered state, and in some degree to a pyramidal form. There appears no agency which could cut it down like slices from a loaf, so as to preserve always the same smooth perpendicular face separating the two falls, which it had in 1679, and continues to have at the present moment. No observer has noticed in this island any symptoms of progressive demolition. Mr Howison so little suspects such a process, that, following up the common idea, he contemplates the period when it will be left "isolated in the midst of the river as a colossal pillar." From what we have stated, however, if any such change were taking place,

greatly the height, making it 600 feet,—which Charlevoix corrects. Both agree as to the appearance and relative position of the different objects.

it must by this time have afforded some manifest proof of its operation.

It may be urged, that water acting with such stupendous force must produce greater changes than we have here supposed. We would, however, refer to a fact which seems too little noticed by geologists, yet which any one who walks along the seashore may at once verify. Rocks daily washed by the tide have their surface hardened and polished to such a degree, as in a great measure to protect them against the action of the waves. Even the loosest sand, when within high-water mark, acquires a comparatively firm and smooth surface. The ledge, too, over which the waters of the St Lawrence rush, being beneath them, and not opposing any resistance to their course, is little liable to be disintegrated by their action. We are not aware of such an effect being produced on any other cataract, nor does Mr Lyell refer to any, although several falls are known to have existed from the remotest antiquity. The statements made by the neighbouring inhabitants are so vague, and differ so very widely, that little importance can be attached to them. The only changes which can be considered well authenticated are the occasional breaking down of the rocks in the middle of the great fall. Of this an example occurred on the 28th December 1828, when a huge fragment fell with a crash which shook the glass vessels in the adjoining inn, and was felt at the distance of two miles. It destroyed in a great measure the angular or horse-shoe form, and, by rendering the line of the fall more direct, heightened its grandeur.* In 1818 there had been a similar dislocation of the Table Rock, other sections of which still wear a threatening aspect.† But this change was not produced, as is commonly supposed, by the wearing away of the rocky ledge itself; it was by the undermining of the bed of soft shale on which it rests: and hence the reason

* Hall, vol. i. p. 196. Mackenzie's Sketches of Canada (8vo, London, 1833), p. 103.

† Bouchette, vol. i. p. 142.

why the hollow space already described has been formed beneath it and behind the descending waters. As this softer stratum, however, is acted upon merely by the spray thrown back upon it, the effects appear to be both limited and partial, and the consequent changes to occur only at long intervals.

Having treated the subject with reference to the term of human life and the common historical eras, we feel little inclined to consider it in its bearing upon geological theories. "It is only necessary to observe that, admitting the deep chasm through which the river flows to Queenston to have been excavated by its waters, it does not follow that a similar process must still continue in operation. Upon every mineralogical hypothesis it is admitted that the strata, which form the crust of the earth, were at one time in a state very different from what they are at present; having a soft and yielding texture, produced either by the influence of fire or by recent deposition from water. The action of so mighty a flood might then very easily, and in a comparatively short period, excavate such a channel. But it is unphilosophical to apply reasons, drawn from so remote an era, to a period when the materials of the land have acquired that fixed and consolidated form under which they appear in our days.

With respect to climate, this country exhibits, in many particulars, a striking dissimilarity to Europe. In the first place, the temperature is much lower under the same latitude; and this remark applies to the whole of North America. Thus Quebec, in 46° 49′ N., has almost the same latitude with Nantes in 47° 13′. Yet the mean annual temperature of the former is 41·74°; of the latter 54·68°,—a difference of nearly 13°. Edinburgh and Copenhagen, though more than 9° farther north than Quebec, exceed it in mean annual heat, the one by 6° the other by 4°.*

The next distinction is the great difference in the

* See Table by Professor Jameson, in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, p. 164.

temperature of winter and summer,—the cold of the one and the heat of the other being much more intense than in those European countries where the annual mean is the same. While the medium temperature of winter at Nantes is about 40·46°, at Quebec it is 14·18°; but that of summer is nearly identical,—at the first 68·54°, at the second, 68·00°. Nay, the mean of the hottest month, which at Nantes is 70·52°, at Quebec is 73·40°. The summer of this last, when compared to that of Edinburgh, is almost tropical, exceeding it by ten degrees, and in the hottest month by fourteen. Even in London the heat rarely attains 83°; whereas in Canada, during July, it rises occasionally 20° higher.* These great heats, however, leave the average still much lower than in European places under the same latitude.

We do not intend to enter here into any discussion of the theories formed on this subject, none of which seem yet to be fully established. The influence of the winds, which blow chiefly from the north-west, over a vast expanse of frozen continent; the position of the adjacent ocean, filled with fields and islands of ice, detached from the arctic shores; the uncultivated state of the soil, covered with vast forests and swamps; these have been the chief causes assigned for so remarkable a difference.

There prevails a general opinion that, since British America has been partially cleared and cultivated, the extremes both of summer heat and of winter cold have been sensibly mitigated. Others, however, maintain that the variations are casual and temporary, and that the changes referred to have as yet taken place on too small a scale to produce any marked effect.

The prevailing winds in Canada are, the north-east, north-west, and south-west. The first, blowing from the ocean, brings rain, snow, and tempest; the second, from a vast extent of frozen land, is dry and intensely cold; the last, from warmer regions, is mild and agreeable. In the height of summer, the air is often quite still, the sky brightly clear, and the rays of the sun beat fiercely

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 337.

upon the earth. The nights at this season are beautifully transparent.

Great and sudden transitions from heat to cold also characterize this region. These are of course produced by changes of wind, occasioning a rapid transition from the one to the other of those extremes to which the whole continent is liable. The tropical countries being equally warm in the New as in the Old World, the hot and cold climates are in the former nearer to each other, and more apt to come into collision. These sudden changes have the effect of rendering every kind of atmospheric agitation, and more especially thunder and lightning, peculiarly violent.

The order of the seasons also varies materially from that which prevails in Europe. The absence of spring is generally incident to climates where the winter is very long and severe. The moderate heat of the advancing season appears absorbed in the process of converting the snow and ice into a liquid state, and can thus act only imperfectly upon the atmosphere. By the time this change is accomplished, the sun's rays have become powerful, and summer is established. Scarcely is the ground cleared of snow when vegetation breaks forth, not gradually, as with us, but with almost preternatural rapidity. The months of June, July, and August are intensely hot, and bring all the crops to a speedy maturity. Autumn, which, according to some writers, does not exist in America, is described by others as the most agreeable of all the seasons. In September and October the days are warm, but the mornings and evenings cool and agreeable; and the foliage, assuming the varied autumnal tints, presents an enchanting picture. In November, when frost is about to set in, a grateful interval usually occurs of what is termed the Indian summer. A delightful warmth is then felt through the air, while a thin and beautiful haze covers the face of nature.* No rational account appears to have been yet

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 339, 340-344. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 123-135. Howison, p. 243-245. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 141-144. Darby, p. 421-431.

given of this phenomenon; for the Canadian theory, that it is produced by the smoke of distant prairies fired by the Indians, is unworthy of refutation. We cannot help suggesting, that all the waters, here so abundant, are then undergoing the process of conversion from a fluid into a solid form; in the course of which they must necessarily give out in large quantities the caloric which held them in a state of fluidity. Heat thus developed will naturally be accompanied with thin mist, which is in fact usually seen rising from the surface of a newly-frozen stream.

The winter of Lower Canada commences in the end of November, and lasts five months, or till the close of April. In the southern parts of the upper province it is nearly two months shorter. This period, which, in our conceptions, appears so dreary, is to the Canadian a season of cheerfulness and enjoyment. Warm clothing and due precaution secure him against any dangerous or even painful effects from the extreme cold. As the country is easily traversed in every direction by light carioles, large parties assemble, and enliven the gloom of the year by festivity and social intercourse.*

It might have been expected that the excessive rigour of the climate, more especially its extremes and sudden changes, would have been peculiarly trying to the human constitution. Experience, on the contrary, has established its decided salubrity. The countries, too, in which the cold is most severe, and the contrasts greatest, are found the healthiest. Hence Lower is more salubrious than Upper Canada, and the latter than the United States. It is true, at the same time, that diseases originating in cold, such as rheumatism and pulmonary consumption, are the most common; and it is remarkable that over all America the teeth are subject to early decay. The upper province suffers from intermittent fever, though not so severely as the countries farther south; it is distressing and weakening, but seldom fatal.†

The action of the climate upon agricultural produc-

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 343, 344, 409. Howison, p. 243. Backwoods of Canada (18mo, London, 1836), p. 206.

† Bouchette vol. i. p. 344. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 136-139.

tions is more favourable in these countries than in others which have the same mean temperature. The intense heat even of the short summer ripens corn and fruits which will not thrive in regions where the same warmth is more equally distributed throughout the year. Thus Quebec agrees in mean annual temperature with Christiania; yet wheat, scarcely ever attempted in Norway, is the staple of Lower Canada. The upper province nearly coincides with the north of England; yet the grape, the peach, and the melon come to as much perfection as in their native soil. Even rice is found growing wild. In this respect British America seems not to fall much short of European countries under the same latitude. Its winter-cold at the same time enables it to combine the products of the northern with those of the southern temperate climates. By the side of the fruits above mentioned flourish the strawberry, the cranberry, and the raspberry;* while the evergreen pines are copiously intermingled with the oak, the elm, and others of ampler foliage. The woods are filled with the rich fur-bearing animals that belong to an arctic climate. The only difficulty is found with such agricultural productions as, under milder skies, are improved by wintering in the soil. Autumn wheat, for example, has not yet succeeded in Lower Canada; and several of the more delicate artificial grasses have failed. The farmer likewise suffers inconvenience from the short interval in which all his operations of sowing, reaping, and harvesting must be completed, while he is left without occupation during the long remainder of the year.

Before closing this general view of Canada, it may be necessary to introduce some notice of the question which has arisen between Britain and the United States, respecting their common boundaries. The vague terms often used in treaties have given rise to disputes and difficulties; but it is seldom, as in the present instance, that they apply to a territory of 10,000 square miles, or 6,400,000 acres. Though this tract is at present only

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 336. Backwoods, pp. 143, 144.

an unbroken forest, yet, as it consists in general of fertile land, the process of colonization, now rapidly approaching it, will, at no very distant period, render it of great value. Both nations maintain their claim in a very peremptory manner; and Bouchette, with other respectable writers on our side, repels with the utmost indignation the idea of yielding a single inch.* We respect the patriotic zeal of these authors; yet, when such feelings carry a people to unreasonable demands, and prevent them from listening to argument, it may lead to calamitous consequences. We shall therefore endeavour to approach the subject impartially, and view it as if totally abstracted from either British or American interests.

The terms of the treaty on which the dispute hinges are, that the boundary shall be drawn "*along the highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean.*" These words were penned in complete ignorance respecting the country of which they were intended to dispose. Instead of one highland tract, whose opposite waters fall into the specified receptacles, there are two ridges, considerably distant, and enclosing between them the wide expanse of the disputed territory. Throughout its centre, from west to east, flows the St John, receiving nearly all the waters from the north side of the one range and the south side of the other. The British, as their boundary, claim the most southerly, the Americans the most northerly of these two lines. Let us see how these claims will agree with the terms of the treaty.

The British boundary clearly fulfils one condition; all the rivers on its southern side fall into the Atlantic. But on the northern it entirely fails, for there they all flow into the St John, and not one drop reaches the St Lawrence. Here, then, we cannot but own a want of coincidence with the literal terms of the convention. Bouchette does not deny this, and allows "that the *letter* of the treaty of 1783 has described a boundary which the physical and hydrographical divisions of the country to

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 18, 26. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 140.

be divided rendered it utterly impossible substantially to establish." He contends, however, that its professed design of contemplating "reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience," and of proceeding upon "principles of liberal equity and reciprocity," clearly decides the point in favour of Britain. These, however, are very vague grounds on which to determine a matter of fact; and, besides, we do not very distinctly see their bearing in our favour. No doubt it would be advantageous and convenient for Britain to get the whole of this territory; but we cannot expect that the Americans will see the reciprocal benefit of their losing the whole. They, on the contrary, maintain that their boundary is strictly and literally conformable to the terms of the treaty. The rivers on one side of it undoubtedly flow into the St Lawrence, while on the other they reach the St John; which last falls into the Bay of Fundy, and that bay communicates with the Atlantic.* This, they pretend, is equivalent to the original rivers falling directly into the Atlantic Ocean. But such an interpretation appears to us wholly inconsistent with the precision which ever ought to be observed in the terms of a positive treaty. The obvious meaning was that the rivers descending from the ridge in question were such as fall into the open Atlantic, and not merely connected with it in this indirect manner. It cannot for a moment be doubted, that the first was the meaning of the negotiators; that they had in view the Penobscot, the Kennebeck, and other streams flowing from the north into the ocean. We do not therefore think, that the Americans stand on better ground than ourselves as to the literal terms of the treaty. Nay, we are convinced that these terms are wholly incapable of being executed, as they were obviously framed by persons entirely ignorant of the territory in question.

In order to adjust this difference, it was agreed by the two contracting powers, on the 12th January 1829, to

* Some of them fall into the Ristigouche, and thence into the Bay of Chaleur, which is also connected with the Atlantic; the argument with regard to these is exactly the same.

refer it to the arbitration of the King of Holland. Accordingly, on the 10th January 1831 his majesty delivered his award, in which he concluded, that neither of the proposed boundaries could be held as at all conformable to the terms of the treaty, and proposed therefore in their stead the river St John, which, as already stated, flows through the middle of the disputed district.* This decision was rejected by both parties, who represented that the office intrusted to the friendly monarch was to interpret the treaty in reference to the original terms, not to throw it aside and substitute an entirely new boundary of his own contrivance. He had produced, they said, not an interpretation, but a compromise. This is no doubt true; yet, agreeing with his majesty, that the treaty cannot be intelligibly interpreted, or possibly acted upon, and that the affair can be adjusted only by mutual concession, we cannot help thinking that the expedient proposed was deserving of a favourable consideration. The St John divides the territory in dispute into two not very unequal portions; the possession of the northern bank would secure to Britain the communication between New Brunswick and Canada, and prevent the frontier of the United States from encroaching too close on the St Lawrence. A water boundary, where it can be procured, is usually preferred as the most precise and defensible; and it is very probable that in this case it would have been adopted by the negotiators, had they not been wholly ignorant of its existence. At all events, it is extremely desirable that some adjustment should take place as speedily as possible, before the increasing importance of the land shall render it a subject of serious dissension between two great nations.†

* His majesty proposes that the line, after following for a considerable space upwards the course of the St John, should take that of its small tributary the St Francis, and by it reach and follow the American land-boundary. We do not perceive the motive or advantage of this deviation; our reasoning proceeds upon the St John being made the boundary throughout, till it strikes the American frontier.

† Bouchette, vol. i. p. 18-22, 489-498. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 140.

CHAPTER II.

The Native Indians inhabiting Canada and its Borders.

Peculiar Condition of those Tribes—Their Physical Character—Form—Colour—Hair and Beard—Bodily Strength—Dress—Ornaments—Painting and Tattooing of the Skin—Modes of Subsistence—Hunting—Cultivation—Food—Houses—Canoes—Spirit of Independence—Internal Order—Marriages—Rearing of Children—Intellectual Character—Oratory—Style of Composition—Religious Ideas—Importance attached to Dreams—The Manitou—Ideas of a Future State—Reverence for the Dead—Ceremonies of Interment—Superstitious Modes of curing the Sick—Indian Wars—Their Motives—Preparations—March—Modes of attacking and surprising the Enemy—Return—Treatment of Prisoners; Tortures; Adoption—Treaties—Indian Amusements—Music—Dancing—Smoking—Games—Different Tribes inhabiting Canada and its Borders.

Among the intellectual advantages derived from the discovery of America, perhaps the most important was the opening of a new page in the history of man; for he was there presented under an aspect never before viewed by the sages either of the ancient or modern world. The rudest form under which they had observed the human being was that called barbarous; and among the Greeks and Romans the Scythians were received as representing the man of nature. But though comparatively rude, that people had already made a considerable progress in the arts. They had reached the pastoral state, possessed numerous herds and flocks, and were united in large bodies under hereditary chiefs. The modern Europeans, again, have records of a time when they

themselves were little removed from a similar condition, of which examples still exist in the outer borders of the continent; but they have never beheld nations consisting only of handfuls of men, roaming through an unbounded and continuous forest, having scarcely any animals tamed for service or food, and supporting themselves solely on the precarious product of the chase. On the first intimation of the existence of such tribes, they were in this part of the world supposed to be a mere assemblage of meagre and shivering wretches, whose constant exertions must be employed in attempting to escape the famine with which they were perpetually threatened. The first discoverers, accordingly, were surprised to find among them warriors, statesmen, and orators; a proud race, of dignified port, terrible in war, mild in peace, maintaining order without the restraint of law, and uniting by the closest ties the members of the same community. Such, though with some remarkable exceptions, was the picture exhibited by the savages of the New World, particularly in its northern regions; and those nations who dwelt on the rivers and lakes of Canada presented it in the most decided features, least modified by the restraints and refinements of civilized life. The English and French, who, during nearly three centuries, have been engaged with them in the relations either of close alliance or of deadly war, have learned to appreciate all that is bright as well as all that is dark and terrible in the character of this extraordinary race. From this intercourse we are furnished with ample means of estimating a state of society so peculiar, and so remote from that civilisation to which Europe has attained.

In their physical character, the Americans are considered by Blumenbach as forming a particular variety of the human species, differing, though not very widely, from the Mongolian. Believing, as we do, that the New World was peopled from the Old, and considering that the Mongol race was situated nearest to the point where Asia and America come almost into contact, we incline

to ascribe these variations merely to a change of outward circumstances. The face is broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, more rounded and arched, however, than in the allied type, without having the visage expanded to the same breadth. The forehead is generally low, the eyes deep, small, and black; the nose rather diminutive but prominent, with wide nostrils; and the mouth large, with somewhat thick lips. The stature, which varies remarkably throughout the continent, is, in the quarter of which we treat, generally above the middle size. This property, however, is confined to the men, the females being usually below that standard,—a fact which may be confidently ascribed to the oppressive drudgery they are compelled to undergo. The limbs, in both sexes, are well proportioned; and few instances of deformity ever occur.*

The colour of the skin in the American is generally described as red or copper-coloured; or, according to Mr Lawrence's more precise definition, it is "an obscure orange or rusty iron colour, not unlike the bark of the cinnamon-tree." Although we believe that climate is the chief cause of the diversities in human colour, yet it is certain that all savages are dark-tinted. This peculiarity may be accounted for by their constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, to sun, air, and tempests; and the same cause in civilized countries produces a similar effect on sailors, as well as on those who work constantly in the fields. In the Old World, the intermediate tints between white and black are generally varieties of brown and yellow. The *red* tint is considered characteristic of the New World. We must however observe, that the traveller Adair, who lived upwards of thirty years among the Indians, positively asserts that it is artificially produced; that in the oil,

* Lawrence's Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man (12mo, London, 1834), p. 365. Adair's History of the American Indians (4to, London, 1775), pp. 5, 6. Weld's Travels in North America and Canada (4to, London, 1799), p. 375-377.

grease, and other unctuous substances with which they keep their skin constantly smeared, there is dissolved the juice of a root which gradually tinges it of this colour. He states, that a white man, who spent some years with the natives, and adorned himself in their manner, completely acquired it. Charlevoix seems also to lean to the same opinion. Weld, though rather inclined to dissent from it, admits that such a notion was adopted by missionaries and others who had resided long in the country. It is certain that the inhabitants glory in this colour, and regard Europeans who have it not as nondescript beings, not fully entitled to the name of men. It may be noticed also, that this tint is by no means so universal as is commonly supposed. Humboldt declares that the idea of its general prevalence could never have arisen in equinoctial America, or been suggested by the view of the natives in that region; yet these provinces include by far the larger part of the aboriginal population. The people of Nootka Sound and other districts of the north-western coast are nearly as white as Europeans; which may be ascribed, we think, to their ample clothing and spacious habitations. Thus the red nations appear limited to the eastern tribes of North America, among whom generally prevails the custom of painting or smearing the skin with that favourite colour. We are not prepared to express a decided opinion on this subject; but it obviously requires a closer investigation than it has yet received.*

The hair is another particular in which the races of mankind remarkably differ. The ruder classes are generally defective either in the abundance or quality of that graceful appendage; and the hair of the Americans, like that of their allied type the Mongols, is coarse, black, thin, but strong, and growing to a great length.

* Lawrence, p. 365. Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent (9 vols 8vo, London, 1818), vol. iii. p. 223. Adair, p. 3. Weld, p. 375. Charlevoix's Journal of a Voyage to North America (2 vols 8vo, London, 1761), vol. ii. p. 99.

Like the latter, also, by a curious coincidence, most of them remove it from every part of the head, with the exception of a tuft on the crown, which they cherish with much care. The circumstance, however, which has excited the greatest attention, is the absence of beard, apparently entire, among all the people of the New World. The early travellers viewed it as a natural deficiency; whence Robertson and other eminent writers have even inferred the existence of something peculiarly feeble in their whole frame. But the assertion, with all the inferences founded upon it, so far as relates to the North American tribes, has been completely refuted by recent observation. The original growth has been found nearly, if not wholly, as ample as that of Europeans; but the moment it appears, every trace is studiously obliterated. This is effected by the aged females, originally with a species of clam-shell, but now by means of spiral pieces of brass-wire supplied by the traders. With these an old squaw will in a few minutes reduce the chin to a state of complete smoothness; and slight applications during the year clear away such straggling hairs as may happen to sprout. It is only among old men, who become careless of their appearance, that the beard begins to be perceptible. A late English traveller strongly recommends to his countrymen a practice which, though scarcely accordant with our ideas of manly dignity, would, at the expense of a few minutes' pain, save them much daily trouble. The Indians have probably adopted this usage as it removes an obstacle to the fantastic painting of the face, which they value so highly. A full beard, at all events, when it was first seen on their French visiters, is said to have been viewed with peculiar antipathy, and to have greatly enhanced the pleasure with which they killed these foreigners.*

The comparative physical strength of savage and

* Weld, pp. 377, 378. Adair, p. 6. Relation de ce que s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des P.P. de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France (32 tomes 8vo, Paris, 1635-1671) an 1667, p. 104.

civilized nations has been a subject of controversy. A general impression has obtained that the former, inured to simple and active habits, acquire a decided superiority; but experience appears to have proved that this conclusion is ill founded. On the field of battle, when a struggle takes place between man and man, the American is usually worsted. In sportive exercises, such as wrestling, he is most frequently thrown, and in leaping comes short of his antagonist. Even in walking or running, if for a short distance, he is left behind; but in these last movements he possesses a power of perseverance and continued exertion to which there is scarcely any parallel. An individual has been known to travel nearly eighty miles in a day, and arrive at his destination without any symptoms of fatigue. These long journeys, also, are frequently performed without any refreshment, and even having the shoulders loaded with heavy burdens, their capacity of supporting which is truly wonderful. For about twelve miles, indeed, a strong European will keep ahead of the Indian; but then he begins to flag, while the other, proceeding with unaltered pace, outstrips him considerably. Even powerful animals cannot equal them in this respect. Many of their civilized adversaries, when overcome in war, and fleeing before them on swift horses, have, after a long chase, been overtaken and scalped.*

Having thus given a view of the persons of the Americans, we may proceed to consider the manner in which they are clothed and ornamented. This last object might have been expected to be a very secondary one, among tribes whose means of subsistence are so scanty and precarious; but, so far is this from being the case, that there is scarcely any pursuit which occupies so much of their time and regard. They have availed themselves of European intercourse to procure each a small mirror, in which, from time to time, they view their

* Lawrence, p. 253. Weld, pp. 388, 389. Long's Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader (4to, London, 1791), p. 36.

Native Indian Costumes.

personal decorations, taking care that every thing shall be in the most perfect order. Embellishment, however, is not much expended on actual clothing, which is simple, and chiefly arranged with a view to convenience. Instead of shoes, they wear what are termed mocassins, consisting of one strip of soft leather wrapt round the foot, and fastened in front and behind. Europeans, walking over hard roads, soon knock these to pieces; but the Indian, tripping over snow or grass, finds them a light and agreeable *chaussure*. Upwards to the middle of the thigh, a piece of leather or cloth, tightly fitted to the limb, serves instead of pantaloons, stockings, and boots; it is sometimes sewed on so close as never to be taken off. To a string or girdle round the waist are fastened two aprons, one before and the other at the back, each somewhat more than a foot square; and these are

connected by a piece of cloth like a truss, often used also as a capacious pocket. The use of breeches they have always repelled with contempt, as cumbrous and effeminate. As an article of female dress, they would consider them less objectionable; but that the limbs of a warrior should be thus manacled, appears to them utterly preposterous. They were particularly scandalized at seeing an officer have them fastened over the shoulder by braces, and never after gave him any name but Tied-Breech.

The garments now enumerated form the whole of their permanent dress. On occasions of ceremony, indeed, or when exposed to cold, they put over it a short shirt fastened at the neck and wrists, and above it a long loose robe closed or held together in front. For this purpose they now generally prefer an English blanket. All these articles were originally fabricated from the skins of wild animals; but at present, unless for the mocassins, and sometimes the leggings, European stuffs are preferred. The dress of the female scarcely differs from that of the male, except that the apron reaches down to the knees; and even this is said to have been adopted since their acquaintance with civilized nations. The early French writers relate an amusing anecdote to prove how little dress was considered as making a distinction between the sexes. The Ursuline nuns, having educated a Huron girl, presented her, on her marriage to one of her countrymen, with a complete and handsome suit of clothes in the Parisian style. They were much surprised some days after, to see the husband, who had ungenerously seized the whole of his bride's attire and arrayed himself in it, parading back and forward in front of the convent, and betraying every symptom of the most extravagant exultation. This was farther heightened, when he observed the ladies crowding to the window to see him, and a universal smile spread over their countenances.*

* Creuxius, Nova Francia (4to, Paris, 1664), pp. 63, 64. Adair, p. 7. Weld, p. 380-383.

These vestments, as already observed, are simple, and adapted only for use. To gratify his passionate love of ornament, the Indian seeks chiefly to load his person with certain glittering appendages. Before the arrival of Europeans, shells and feathers took the lead; but, since that period, these commodities have been nearly supplanted by beads, rings, bracelets, and similar toys, which are inserted profusely into various parts of his apparel, particularly the little apron in front. The chiefs usually wear a breastplate ornamented with them; and among all classes it is an object of the greatest ambition to have the largest possible number suspended from the ear. That organ therefore is not bored, but slit to such an extent that a stick of wax may be passed through the aperture, which is then loaded with all the baubles that can be mustered; and if the weight of these gradually draw down the yielding flap till it rest on the shoulder, and the ornaments themselves cover the breast, the Indian has reached his utmost height of finery. This, however, is a precarious splendour; the ear becomes more and more unfit to support the burden, when at length some accident, the branch of a tree, or even a twitch by a waggish comrade, lays at his feet all his decorations, with the portion of flesh to which they were attached. Weld saw very few who had preserved this organ entire through life. The adjustment of the hair, again, is an object of especial study. As already observed, the greater part is generally eradicated, leaving only a tuft, varying in shape and place, according to taste and national custom, but usually encircling the crown. This lock is stuck full of feathers, wings of birds, shells, and every kind of fantastic ornament. The women wear theirs long and flowing, and contrive to collect a considerable number of ornaments for it, as well as for their ears and dress.*

But it is upon his skin that the American warrior chiefly lavishes his powers of embellishment. His taste

* Creuxius, p. 63. Charlevoix, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120. Weld, pp. 361-363. Adair, pp. 171.

Tattooed Indian.

in doing so is very different from ours. "While the European," says Creuxius, "studies to keep his skin clean, and free from every extraneous substance, the Indian's aim is, that his, by the accumulation of oil, grease, and paint, may shine like that of a roasted pig." Soot scraped from the bottoms of kettles, the juices of herbs having a green, yellow, and, above all, a vermilion tint, rendered adhesive by combination with oil and grease, are lavishly employed to adorn his person, or, according to our idea, to render it hideous. Black and red, alternating with each other in varied stripes, are the favourite tints. Some blacken the face, leaving in the middle a red circle, including the upper lip and tip of the nose; others have a red spot on each ear, or one eye black and the other of a red colour. In war the black tint is profusely laid on, the others being only

employed to heighten its effect, and give to the countenance a terrific expression. M. de Tracy, when governor of Canada, was told by his Indian allies, that, with his good-humoured face, he would never inspire the enemy with any degree of awe. They besought him to place himself under their brush, when they would soon make him such, that his very aspect would strike terror. The breast, arms, and legs are the seat of more permanent impressions, analogous to the tattooing of the South Sea Islanders. The colours are either elaborately rubbed in, or fixed by slight incisions with needles and sharp-pointed bones. His guardian spirit, and the animal that forms the symbol of his tribe, are the first objects delineated. After this every memorable exploit, and particularly the enemies whom he has slain and scalped, are diligently graven on some part of his figure; so that the body of an aged warrior contains the history of his life.*

The means of procuring subsistence must always form an important branch of national economy. Writers taking a superficial view of savage life, and seeing how scanty the articles of food are, while the demand is necessarily urgent, have assumed that the efforts to attain them must absorb his whole mind, and scarcely leave room for any other thought. But, on the contrary, these are to him very subordinate objects. To perform a round of daily labour, even though ensuring the most ample provision for his wants, would be equally contrary to his inclination and supposed dignity. He will not deign to follow any pursuit which does not, at the same time, include enterprise, adventure, and excitement. Hunting, which the higher classes in the civilized parts of the world pursue for mere recreation, is almost the only occupation considered of sufficient importance to engage his attention. It is peculiarly endeared by its resemblance to war, being carried on with the same weapons, and nearly in the same manner. In his na-

* Creuxius, p. 62. Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 118. Weld, pp. 382, 383. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1664, 1665.

tive state, the arrow was the favourite and almost exclusive instrument for assailing distant objects; but now the gun has nearly superseded it. The great hunts are rendered more animating, as well as more effectual, from being carried on in large parties, and even by whole tribes. The men are prepared for these by fasting, dreaming, and other superstitious observances, similar to those which we shall find employed in anticipation of war. In such expeditions, too, contrivance and skill, as well as boldness and enterprise, are largely employed. Sometimes a circle is formed, when all the animals surrounded by it are pressed closer and closer, till they are collected in the centre, and fall under the accumulated weight of weapons. On other occasions they are driven to the margin of a lake or river, in which, if they attempt to seek refuge, canoes are ready to intercept them. Elsewhere a space is enclosed by stakes, only a narrow opening being left, which, by clamour and shouts, the game are compelled to enter, and thereby secured. In autumn and spring, when the ice is newly formed and slight, they are pushed upon it, and their legs breaking through, they are easily caught. In winter, when the snow begins to fall, traps are set, in which planks are so arranged, that the animal, in snatching at the bait, is crushed to death. Originally the deer, both for food and clothing, was the most valuable object of chase; but since the trade with Europeans has given such a prominent importance to furs, the beaver has in some degree supplanted it. In attacking this animal, great care is taken to prevent his escape into the water, on which his habitation always borders; and with this view various kinds of nets and springes are employed. On some occasions the Indians place themselves upon the dike which encloses his amphibious village. They then make an opening in it, when the inmates, alarmed by seeing the water flowing out, hasten to this barrier, where they encounter their enemies, armed with all the instruments of destruction. At other times, when ice covers the surface of the pond, a hole is made, at which

the animal comes to respire; he is then drawn out, and secured. The bear is a formidable enemy, which must be assailed by the combined force of the hunters, who are ranged in two rows, armed with bows or muskets. One of them advances, and wounds him, and, on being furiously pursued, he retreats between the files, followed in the same line by the animal, which is then overwhelmed by their united onset. In killing these quadrupeds, the natives seem to feel a sort of kindness and sympathy for their victim. On vanquishing a beaver or a bear, they celebrate its praises in a song, recounting those good qualities which it will never more be able to display, yet consoling themselves with the useful purposes to which its flesh and its skin will be applied.*

Of the animals usually tamed and rendered subservient to useful purposes, the Americans have only the dog, that faithful friend of man. Though his services in hunting are valuable, he is treated with no tenderness; but is left to roam about the dwelling, very sparingly supplied with food and shelter. A missionary who resided in a Huron village represents his life as having been rendered miserable by these animals. At night they laid themselves on his person, for the benefit of the warmth; and whenever his scanty meal was set down, their snouts were always first in the dish. Dog's flesh is eaten, and has even a peculiar sanctity attached to it. On all solemn festivals it is the principal meat, the use of which on such occasions seems to import some high and mysterious meaning.

But besides the cheering avocations of the chase, other means must be used to ensure the comfort and subsistence of the Indian's family; all of which, however, are most ungenerously devolved upon the weaker sex. Women, according to Creuxius, serve them as domestics, as tailors, as peasants, and as oxen; and Long does not

* Chateaubriand's Travels in America and Italy (2 vols 8vo, London, 1828), vol. i. p. 269-279. Carver's Travels through the Interior Parts of North America (8vo, London, 1778), p. 267-290. Long, p. 96.

conceive that any other purposes of their existence are recognised, except those of bearing children and performing hard work. They till the ground, carry wood and water, build huts, make canoes, and fish; in which latter processes, however, and in reaping the harvest, their lords deign to give occasional aid. So habituated are they to such occupations, that when one of them saw a party of English soldiers collecting wood, she exclaimed, that it was a shame to see men doing women's work, and began herself to carry a load.*

Through the services of this enslaved portion of the tribe, those savages are enabled to combine in a certain degree the agricultural with the hunting state, without any mixture of the pastoral, usually considered as intermediate. Cultivation, however, is limited to small spots in the immediate vicinity of the villages, and these being usually at the distance of sixteen or seventeen miles from each other, it scarcely makes any impression on the immense expanse of forest. The women, in the beginning of summer, after having burned the stubble of the preceding crop, rudely stir the ground with a long crooked piece of wood; they then throw in the grain, which is chiefly the coarse but productive species of maize peculiar to the continent. The nations in the south have a considerable variety of fruits; whereas those of Canada appear to have raised only turnsoles, water-melons, and pompions. Tobacco used to be grown largely; but that imported by Europeans is now universally preferred, and has become a regular object of trade. The grain, after harvest (which is celebrated by a festival), is lodged in large subterraneous stores lined with bark, where it keeps extremely well. Previous to being placed in these, it is sometimes thrashed, on other occasions merely the ears are cut off, and thrown in. When first discovered by settlers from Europe, the degrees of culture were found to vary in different tribes. The Algonquins, who were the ruling people previous to the arrival of the French,

* Colden's History of the Five Nations (2 vols 12mo, London, 1755), vol. i. pp. 7, 14. Creuxius, p. 57. Long, pp. 137, 138.

wholly despised it, and branded as plebeian their neighbours, by whom it was practised. In general, the northern clans, and those near the mouth of the St Lawrence, depended almost solely on hunting and fishing; and when these failed they were reduced to dreadful extremities, being often obliged to depend on the miserable resource of that species of lichen called *tripe de roche*.

The maize, when thrashed, is occasionally toasted on the coals, and sometimes made into a coarse kind of unleavened cake. But the most favourite preparation is that called *sagamity*, a species of pap formed after it has been roasted, bruised, and separated from the husk. It is insipid by itself; yet when thrown into the pot, along with the produce of the chase, it enriches the soup or stew, one of the principal dishes at their feasts. They never eat victuals raw, but rather overboiled; nor have they yet been brought to endure French ragouts, salt, pepper, or indeed any species of condiment. A chief, admitted to the governor's table, seeing the general use of mustard, was led by curiosity to take a spoonful and put it into his mouth. On feeling its violent effects, he made incredible efforts to conceal them, and escape the ridicule of the company; but severe sneezings, and the tears starting from his eyes, soon betrayed him, and raised a general laugh. He was then shown the manner in which it should be used; but nothing could ever induce him to allow the "boiling yellow," as he termed it, to enter his lips.

The Indians are capable of extraordinary abstinence from food, in which they can persevere for successive days without complaint or apparent suffering. They even take a pride in long fasts, by which they usually prepare themselves for any great undertaking. Yet when once set down to a feast, their gluttony is described as enormous, and the capacity of their stomachs almost incredible. They will go from feast to feast, doing honour to each in succession. The chief giving the entertainment does not partake, but with his own hands distributes portions among the guests. On solemn occasions, it is

a rule that every thing shall be eaten; nor does this obligation seem to be felt as either burdensome or unpleasant. In their native state, they were not acquainted with any species of intoxicating liquors; their love of ardent spirits, attended with so many ruinous effects, having been entirely consequent on their intercourse with Europeans.*

The habitations of the Indians receive much less of their attention than the attire or at least embellishment of their persons. Our countrymen, by common consent, give to them no better appellation than cabins. The bark of trees is their chief material both for houses and boats; they peel it off with considerable skill, sometimes stripping a whole tree in one piece. This coating, spread not unskilfully over a framework of poles, and fastened to them by strips of tough rind, forms their dwellings. The shape, according to the owner's fancy, resembles a tub, a cone, or a cart-shed, the mixture of which gives to the village a confused and chaotic appearance. Light and heat are admitted only by an aperture at the top, through which also the smoke escapes, after filling all the upper part of the mansion. Little inconvenience is felt from this by the natives, who, within doors, never think of any position except sitting or lying; but to Europeans, who must occasionally stand or walk, the abode is thereby rendered almost intolerable; and matters become much worse when rain or snow makes it necessary to close the roof. These structures are sometimes upwards of a hundred feet long; but they are then the residence of two or three separate families. Four of them occasionally compose a quadrangle, each open on the inside, and having a common fire in the centre. Formerly the Iroquois had houses somewhat superior, adorned even with some rude carving; but these were burnt down by the French in successive expeditions, and have never been rebuilt in the same style. The

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 121-125. Adair, p. 409-412. Creuxius, p. 66. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1657, 1658, pp. 106, 107.

Canadians in this respect seem to be surpassed by the Choktaws, Chikasaws, and other tribes in the south, and even by the Saukies in the west, whose mansions Carver describes as constructed of well-hewn planks, neatly jointed, and each capable of containing several families.

In their expeditions, whether for war or hunting, which often lead them through desolate forests, several hundred miles from home, the Indians have the art of rearing, with great expedition, temporary abodes. On arriving at their evening station, a few poles, meeting at top in the form of a cone, are in half an hour covered with bark, and having spread a few pine-branches within by way of mattress, they sleep as soundly as on beds of down. Like the Esquimaux, they also understand how to convert snow into a material for building; and find it in the depth of winter the warmest and most comfortable. A few twigs platted together secure the roof. Our own countrymen, in their several campaigns, have, in cases of necessity, used with advantage this species of bivouac.

The furniture in these native huts is exceedingly simple. The chief articles are two or three pots or kettles for boiling their food, with a few wooden plates and spoons. The former, in the absence of metal, with which the inhabitants were unacquainted, were made of coarse earthenware that resisted the fire; and sometimes of a species of soft stone, which could be excavated with their rude hatchets. Nay, in some cases, their kitchen utensils were of wood, and the water made to boil by throwing in heated stones. Since their acquaintance with Europeans, the superiority of iron vessels has been found so decided, that they are now universally preferred. The great kettle or cauldron, employed only on high festivals associated with religion, hunting, or war, attracts even a kind of veneration; and potent chiefs have assumed its name as their title of honour.

Canoes, another fabric which the Indians construct very rudely, are yet adapted with considerable skill to

their purpose. These are usually framed of the bark of a single tree, strengthened at the centre with ribs of tough wood. The ends are of bark only, but being curved upwards, are always above water, and thus remain perfectly tight. Our sailors can scarcely believe such nut-shells safe even on the smoothest waters, and see with surprise the natives guiding them amid stormy waves, where their very lightness and buoyancy preserve them from sinking. They have another quality of great advantage in the devious pursuits of the owners; being so extremely light, that they can be easily conveyed on the shoulder from one river or branch of a lake to another. One man, it is said, can carry on his back a canoe in which twelve persons may navigate with safety.*

Having taken this minute survey of the physical condition of the Indians, we shall proceed to an examination of their social condition. The fundamental principle of their polity is the complete independence of every individual, his right to do whatever he pleases, be it good or bad, nay, even though criminal and destructive. When any one announces an intention which is disagreeable to his neighbours, they dare not attempt to check him by reproach or coercion; these would only rivet his determination more strongly. Their only resource is to sooth him, like a spoiled child, by kind words, and especially by gifts. If, notwithstanding, he proceeds to wound or murder any one, the public look on without concern, though revenge is eagerly sought by the kindred of the injured person.

Notwithstanding this impunity, which, on our side of the Atlantic, would be followed by the most dreadful consequences, it is somewhat mortifying to the pride of European civilisation to learn, that there reigns a degree of tranquillity greater than the strictest police can preserve with us. The Indians are divided into a number of little nations or tribes, fiercely hostile to each other,

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 127-130. Weld, p. 383-389. Creuxius, p. 68. Carver, pp. 46, 231-233. Adair, p. 413-420.

but whose members are bound among themselves by the strictest union. The honour and welfare of the clan supply their ruling principle, and are cherished with an ardour not surpassed in the most brilliant eras of Greek and Roman patriotism. This national attachment forms a social tie, linking the members to each other, and rendering exceedingly rare, not only deeds of violence, but even personal quarrels, and banishing entirely that coarse and abusive language which is so prevalent among the vulgar in more enlightened communities. This feeling, added to the sentiment of dignity and self-command considered suitable to the character of a warrior, renders their deportment exceedingly pleasing. They are completely free from that false shame which is termed *mauvaise honte*. When seated at table with Europeans of the highest rank, they retain the most thorough self-possession; and at the same time, by carefully observing the proceedings of the other guests, they avoid all awkwardness in their manners. Their generosity, too, in relieving each other's necessities scarcely knows any bounds, and only stops short of an absolute community of goods. No member of a tribe can be in the least danger of starving, if the rest have wherewith to supply him. Children rendered orphans by the casualties to which savage life is subject, are immediately taken in charge by the nearest relative, and supplied with every thing needful, as abundantly as if they were his own. Nothing gives them a more unfavourable opinion of the French and English, than to see one portion revelling in abundance, while the other suffers the extremities of want; but when they are told that, for want of these accommodations, men are seized by their fellow-creatures and immured in dungeons, such a degree of barbarism appears to them almost incredible. Whole tribes, when obliged by the vicissitudes of war to seek refuge among their neighbours, are received with unbounded hospitality; habitations and lands are assigned to them, and they are treated by their new friends in every respect as a part of themselves. It may, however, be

observed, that as such an accession of numbers augments the military strength of the tribe, there may be a mixture of policy in this cordial reception.*

In consequence of this spirit of order and internal union, the unbounded personal freedom which marks their social condition seldom breaks out into such crimes as would disturb the public peace. Its greatest evil, of which we shall see repeated instances, is, that individuals actuated by revenge or a spirit of daring enterprise, think themselves justified in surprising and murdering a hated adversary. From this cause every treaty between the tribes is rendered precarious; though, as each is aware of these lawless propensities, room is left for mutual explanation, so that particular outrages may not involve a general war. This circumstance leads us to notice, that the favourable aspect presented by the interior of these communities can by no means warrant any conclusion as to the superiority of savage life when compared with that of civilized man. On the contrary, the most perfect form of government devised by the human being in the state of nature, has never been exempted from those feelings of relentless enmity and continual fear with which bordering nations regard each other. These, as will appear in the sequel, often impel them to the most direful crimes; but at present we shall proceed with our survey of their domestic usages.

Some writers have denied that there exists among the Indians any thing that can properly be termed a matrimonial union. This, however, seems only a prejudice, in consequence of there not being any regular ceremony, as with us. The man, it appears, after having made an arrangement with the parent of his bride, takes her home, and they live in every respect as husband and wife. The mode of courtship among several of the tribes is singular. The wooer, attended often by several comrades, repairs at midnight to his fair one's apartment,

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. pp. 30-32, 86, 87. Creuxius, pp. 72, 73. Carver, pp. 248, 412. Adair, pp. 378, 412. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1657, 1658, p. 128.

and three times twitches her nose. If she be inclined to listen to his suit, she rises; otherwise he must depart. Though this visit be so very unseasonable, it is said to be rarely accompanied with any impropriety; the missionaries, however, did not think it right to sanction such freedoms in their converts. The preliminary step is, in this manner, taken with the lady, but the decision still rests with the father, to whom the suitor now applies. Long has given no unpleasing specimen of the address: "Father, I love your daughter—will you give her to me, that the small roots of her heart may entangle with mine, so that the strongest wind that blows may never separate them?" He offers at the same time a handsome present, the acceptance of which is considered as sealing the union. Considerable discrepancy prevails in the descriptions, and apparently in the practice, as applied to different tribes; yet, on the whole, great reserve and propriety seem to mark this intercourse. The young men of the Five Nations valued themselves highly for their correct conduct towards the other sex. Of numerous female captives who fell into their hands during a long series of wars, though some were possessed of great personal beauty, no one had to complain that her honour was exposed to the slightest danger. The girls themselves are not always quite so exemplary; but their failures are viewed with indulgence, and form no obstacle to marriage. Once united by that tie, however, a strict fidelity is expected and commonly observed. The husband, generally speaking, is not jealous, unless when intoxicated; but when his suspicions are really excited regarding the conduct of his partner, he is very indignant, beats her, bites off her nose, and dismisses her in disgrace. There are occasional instances of a divorce being inflicted without any assigned reason; but such arbitrary proceeding is by no means frequent. As the wife performs the whole labour, and furnishes a great part of the subsistence, she is usually considered too valuable a possession to be rashly parted with. In some cases these domestic drudges become

even an object of dispute and competition. A missionary mentions a woman, who, during the absence of her husband, formed a new connexion. Her first partner having returned, without being agitated by any delicate sensibilities, demanded her back. The question was referred to a chief, who could contrive no better scheme than that of placing her at a certain distance from both, and decreeing that he who should first reach her should have her; "thus," says he, "the wife fell to him who had the best legs." With regard to polygamy, the usual liberty is claimed, and by the chiefs in the west and the south it is indulged to a considerable extent; but among the tribes on the lakes the practice is rare and limited. When it does occur, the man very commonly marries his wife's sister, and even her whole family, on the presumption, we may suppose, that the household will be thereby rendered more harmonious. The Indian is said never to betray the slightest symptom of tenderness towards his wife or children. If he meets them on his return from a distant expedition, he proceeds without taking the slightest notice, and seats himself in his cabin as if he had not been a day absent. Yet his exertions for their welfare, and the eagerness with which he avenges their wrongs, testify that this apparent apathy springs only from pride and a fancied sense of decorum. It is equally displayed with regard to his own most urgent wants. Though he may have been without food during several days, and enters a neighbour's house, nothing can make him stoop to ask for a morsel.*

The rearing (for it cannot be called the education) of the children is chiefly arranged so that it may cost the parents the least possible trouble in addition to the labour of procuring their subsistence. The father is either engrossed by war and hunting, or resigned to total indolence; while the mother, oppressed by various toils,

* La Potherie, Bacqueville de, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale (4 tomes 12mo. Paris 1674), vol. ii. pp. 22, 31. Long, pp. 93, 136. Carver, pp. 230-241, 367-376, 410.

Infant in a Frame.

cannot devote much time to the cares of nurture. The infant, therefore, being fastened with pieces of skin to a board spread with soft moss, is laid on the ground or suspended to the branch of a tree, where it swings as in a cradle,—an expedient which is so carefully adopted as scarcely ever to be attended with accident. As soon as the creatures are able to crawl on hands and feet, they are allowed to move about every part of the house and vicinity, like a cat or dog. Their favourite resort is the border of the river or lake to which an Indian village is usually adjacent, and where in summer they are seen all day long, sporting like fishes. As reason dawns, they enjoy in the most ample degree that independence which is held the birthright of their tribe; for, whatever extravagances they may indulge in, the parents never take any steps to restrain or chastise them. The mother only ventures to give her daughter some delicate reproach, or throws water in her face, which is said to produce a powerful effect. The youths, however, without any express instructions, soon imbibe the spirit of their forefathers. Every thing they see, the tales which they hear, inspire them with the ardent desire to become great hunters and warriors. Their first study, their favourite sport, is to bend the bow, to wield the hatchet, and practise all those exercises

which are to be their glory in after-life. As manhood approaches, they spontaneously assume that serious character, that studied and stately gravity, of which the example has been set by their elders.*

The intellectual character of the American savage presents some very striking peculiarities. Considering his unfavourable condition, he of all other human beings might seem doomed to make the nearest approach to the brute; while, in point of fact, without any aid from letters or study, many of the higher faculties of his mind are developed in a very remarkable degree. He displays a decided superiority over the uninstructed labourer in a civilized community, whose mental energies are benumbed amid the daily round of mechanical occupation. The former spends a great part of his life in arduous enterprises, where much contrivance is requisite; and whence he must often extricate himself by presence of mind and ingenuity. His senses, particularly those of seeing and smelling, have acquired by practice an almost preternatural acuteness. He can trace an animal or a foe by indications which to a European eye would be wholly imperceptible; and in his wanderings he gathers a minute acquaintance with the geography of the countries which he traverses. He can even draw a rude outline of them by applying a mixture of charcoal and grease to prepared skins, and on seeing a regular map he soon understands its construction, and readily finds out places. His facility in discovering the most direct way to spots situated at the distance of hundreds of miles, and known perhaps only by the report of his countrymen, is truly astonishing. It has been ascribed by some to a mysterious and supernatural instinct, but it appears to be achieved by merely observing the different aspect of the trees or shrubs when exposed to the north or the south, as also the position of the sun, which he can point out, although hidden by clouds. Even where there is a beaten track, if at all circuitous,

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. pp. 129, 213. Weld, pp. 387, 388.

he strikes directly through the woods, and reaches his destination by the straightest possible line.*

Other faculties of a higher order are developed by the scenes amid which the life of savages is spent. They are divided into a number of little communities, between which, are actively carried on all the relations of war, negotiation, treaty, and alliance. As mighty revolutions, observes an eloquent writer, take place in these kingdoms of wood and cities of bark, as in the most powerful civilized states. To increase the influence, and extend the possessions of their own tribe, to humble and if possible destroy those hostile to them, are the constant aims of every member of those little commonwealths. For these ends, not only deeds of daring valour are achieved, but schemes are deeply laid, and pursued with the most accurate calculation. There is scarcely a refinement in European diplomacy to which they are strangers. The French once made an attempt to crush the confederacy of the Five Nations, by attacking each in succession; but as they were on their march against the first tribe, they were met by the deputies of the others, who offered their mediation, intimating, that if it were rejected, they would make common cause with the one threatened. That association also showed that they completely understood how to employ the hostility which prevailed between their enemy and the English for promoting their own aggrandizement. Embassies, announced by the calumet of peace, are constantly passing from one tribe to another.

The same political circumstances develop in an extraordinary degree the powers of oratory; for nothing of any importance is transacted without a speech. On every emergency a council of the tribe is called, when the aged and wise hold long deliberations for the public weal. The best speakers are despatched to conduct their negotiations, the object of which is unfolded in studied harangues. The functions of orator, among the Five

* Weld, p. 391-394. Long, p. 83. Carver, pp. 241, 242.

Nations, had even become a separate profession, held in equal or higher honour than that of the warrior; and each clan appointed the most eloquent of their number to speak for them in the public council. Nay, there was a general orator for the whole confederacy, who could say to the French governor, "Ononthio, lend thine ear; I am the mouth of all the country; you hear all the Iroquois in hearing my word." Decanesora, their speaker at a later period, was greatly admired by the English, and his bust was thought to resemble that of Cicero. In their diplomatic discourses, each proposition is prefaced by the delivery of a belt of wampum, of which what follows is understood to be the explanation, and which is to be preserved as a record of the conference. The orator does not express his proposals in words only, but gives to every sentence its appropriate action. If he threatens war, he wildly brandishes the tomahawk; if he solicits alliance, he twines his arms closely with those of the chief whom he addresses; and if he invites friendly intercourse, he assumes all the attitudes of one who is forming a road in the Indian manner, by cutting down the trees, clearing them away, and carefully removing the leaves and branches. To a French writer, who witnessed the delivery of a solemn embassy, it suggested the idea of a company of actors performing on a stage. So expressive are their gestures, that negotiations have been conducted and alliances concluded between petty states and communities who understood nothing of one another's language.*

The composition of the Indian orators is studied and elaborate. The language of the Iroquois is even held to be susceptible of an Attic elegance, which few can attain so fully as to escape all criticism. It is figurative in the highest degree, every notion being expressed by images addressed to the senses. Thus, to throw up the hatchet, or to put on the great cauldron, is to begin a war; to throw the hatchet to the sky, is to wage open

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1644, p. 87-93. Carver, p. 260. Colden, vol. i. p. 169, *et seq.* Adair, p. 79.

and terrible war; to take off the cauldron, or to bury the hatchet, is to make peace; to plant the tree of peace on the highest mountain of the earth, is to make a general pacification. To throw a prisoner into the cauldron is to devote him to torture and death; to take him out, is to pardon and receive him as a member of the community. Ambassadors coming to propose a full and general treaty say, "We rend the clouds asunder, and drive away all darkness from the heavens, that the sun of peace may shine with brightness over us all." On another occasion, referring to their own violent conduct, they said, "We are glad that Assarigoa will bury in the pit what is past; let the earth be trodden hard over it, or rather let a strong stream run under the pit to wash away the evil." They afterwards added, "We now plant a tree, whose top will reach the sun, and its branches spread far abroad, and we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in peace." To send the collar underground, is to carry on a secret negotiation; but when expressing a desire that there might be no duplicity or concealment between them and the French, they said, that "they wished to fix the sun in the top of the heaven, immediately above that pole, that it might beat directly down, and leave nothing in obscurity." In pledging themselves to a firm and steady peace, they declared that they would not only throw down the great war-cauldron, and cause all the water to flow out, but would break it in pieces. This disposition to represent every thing by a sensible object extends to matters the most important. One powerful people assumed the appellation of Foxes, while another gloried in that of Cats. Even when the entire nation bore a different appellation, separate fraternities distinguished themselves as the tribe of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf. They did not disdain a reference even to inanimate things. The Black Cauldron was at one time the chief warrior of the Five Nations; and Red Shoes was a person of distinction, well known to Long the traveller. When the chiefs concluded treaties with Europeans, their

signature consisted in a picture, often tolerably well executed, of the beast or object after which they chose to be named.*

The absence among these tribes of any written or even pictorial mode of recording events was supplied by the memories of their old men, which were so retentive that a certain writer calls them living books. Their only remembrancer consisted in the wampum belts; of which one was appropriated to each division of a speech or treaty, and had seemingly a powerful effect in calling it to recollection. On the close of the transaction, these were deposited as public documents, to be drawn forth on great occasions, when the orators, and even the old women, could repeat verbatim the passage to which each referred. Europeans were thus enabled to collect information concerning the revolutions of different tribes, for several ages preceding their own arrival.†

The earliest visiters of the New World, on seeing among the Indians neither priests, temples, idols, nor sacrifices, represented them as a people wholly destitute of religious opinions. Closer inquiry, however, showed that a belief in the spiritual world, however imperfect, had a commanding influence over almost all their actions. Their creed includes even some lofty and pure conceptions. Under the title of the Great Spirit, the Master of Life, the maker of heaven and earth, they distinctly recognise a supreme ruler of the universe, and an arbiter of their destiny. A party of them, when informed by the missionaries of the existence of a being of infinite power, who had created the heavens and the earth, with one consent exclaimed, "*Atahocan! Atahocan!*"—that being the name of their principal deity. According to Long, the Indians among whom he resided ascribe every event, propitious or unfortunate, to the favour or

* La Potherie, preface to tome iii. Colden, vol. i. pp. 15, 49, 175. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1655, 1656, p. 21. Weld, p. 395.

† Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1659, 1660, p. 28. Weld, pp. 389, 390.

anger of the Master of Life. They address him for their daily subsistence; they believe him to convey to them presence of mind in battle; and amid tortures they thank him for inspiring them with courage. Yet though this one elevated and just conception is deeply graven on their minds, it is combined with others which show all the imperfection of unassisted reason in attempting to think rightly on this great subject. It may even be observed, that the term, rendered into our language "great spirit," does not really convey the idea of an immaterial nature. It imports with them merely some being possessed of lofty and mysterious powers, and in this sense is applied to men, and even to animals. The brute creation, which occupies a prominent place in all their ideas, is often viewed by them as invested, to a great extent, with supernatural powers,—an extreme absurdity, which, however, they share with the civilized creeds of Egypt and India.

When the missionaries, on their first arrival, attempted to form an idea of the Indian mythology, it appeared to them extremely complicated, more especially because those who attempted to explain it had no fixed opinions. Each man differed from his neighbour, and at another time from himself, and when the discrepancies were pointed out no attempt was made to reconcile them. The southern tribes, who had a more settled faith, are described by Adair as intoxicated with spiritual pride, and denouncing even their European allies as "the accursed people." The native Canadian, on the contrary, is said to have been so little tenacious, that he would at any time renounce all his theological errors for a pipe of tobacco, though, as soon as it was smoked, he immediately relapsed. An idea was found prevalent respecting a certain mystical animal, called Mesou or Messessagen, who, when the earth was buried in water, had drawn it up and restored it. Others spoke of a contest between the hare, the fox, the beaver, and the seal, for the empire of the world. Among the principal nations of Canada the hare is thought to have at-

tained a decided pre-eminence; and hence the Great Spirit and the Great Hare are sometimes used as synonymous terms. What should have raised this creature to such distinction seems rather unaccountable; unless it were that its extreme swiftness might appear something supernatural. Among the Ottawas alone the heavenly bodies become an object of veneration; the sun appears to rank as their supreme deity.*

To dive into the abyss of futurity has always been a favourite object of superstition. It has been attempted by various means; but the Indian seeks it chiefly through his dreams, which always bear with him a sacred character. Before engaging in any high undertaking, especially in hunting or war, the dreams of the principal chiefs are carefully watched and studiously examined; and according to the interpretation their conduct is guided. A whole nation has been set in motion by the sleeping fancies of a single man. Sometimes a person imagines in his sleep that he has been presented with an article of value by another, who then cannot without impropriety leave the omen unfulfilled. When Sir William Johnson, during the American war, was negotiating an alliance with a friendly tribe, the chief confidentially disclosed that during his slumbers he had been favoured with a vision of Sir William bestowing upon him the rich laced coat which formed his full dress. The fulfilment of this revelation was very inconvenient; yet on being assured that it positively occurred, the English commander found it advisable to resign his uniform. Soon after, however, he unfolded to the Indian a dream with which he had himself been favoured, and in which the former was seen presenting him with a large tract of fertile land most commodiously situated. The native ruler admitted that since the vision had been vouchsafed it must be realized, yet earnestly proposed to cease this mutual dreaming, which he found had turned much to his own disadvantage.†

* Adair, p. 32. La Potherie, tome ii. pp. 3-8, 11, 12. Long, p. 139. Creuxius, p. 84.

† Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 156-158. Creuxius, p. 84. Long, p. 89.

The manitou is an object of peculiar veneration; and the fixing upon this guardian power is not only the most important event in the history of a youth, but even constitutes his initiation into active life. As a preliminary, his face is painted black, and he undergoes a severe fast, which is, if possible, prolonged for eight days. This is preparatory to the dream in which he is to behold the idol destined ever after to afford him aid and protection. In this state of excited expectation, and while every nocturnal vision is carefully watched, there seldom fails to occur to his mind something which, as it makes a deep impression, is pronounced his manitou. Most commonly it is a trifling and even fantastic article; the head, beak, or claw of a bird, the hoof of a cow, or even a piece of wood. However, having undergone a thorough perspiration in one of their vapour-baths, he is laid on his back, and a picture of it is drawn upon his breast by needles of fish-bone dipt in vermilion. A good specimen of the original being procured, it is carefully treasured up; and to it he applies in every emergency, hoping that it will inspire his dreams and secure to him every kind of good fortune. When, however, notwithstanding every means of propitiating its favour, misfortunes befall him, the manitou is considered as having exposed itself to just and serious reproach. He begins with remonstrances, representing all that has been done for it, the disgrace it incurs by not protecting its votary, and, finally, the danger that, in case of repeated neglect, it may be discarded for another. Nor is this considered merely as an empty threat; for if the manitou is judged incorrigible it is thrown away; and by means of a fresh course of fasting, dreaming, sweating, and painting, another is installed, from whom better success may be hoped.*

The absence of temples, worship, sacrifices, and all the observances to which superstition prompts the untutored mind, is a remarkable circumstance, and, as we have already remarked, led the early visiters to believe that the Indians were strangers to all religious ideas. Yet

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146. La Potherie, vol. ii. p. 11, &c.

the missionaries found room to suspect, that some of their great feasts, in which every thing presented must be eaten, bore an idolatrous character, and were held in honour of the Great Hare. The Ottawas, whose mythological system seems to have been the most complicated, were wont to keep a regular festival to celebrate the beneficence of the sun; on which occasion the luminary was told that this service was in return for the good hunting he had procured for his people, and as an encouragement to persevere in his friendly cares. They were also observed to erect an idol in the middle of their town, and sacrifice to it; but such ceremonies were by no means general. On first witnessing Christian worship, the only idea suggested by it was that of their asking some temporal good, which was either granted or refused.* The missionaries mention two Hurons, who arrived from the woods soon after the congregation had assembled. Standing without, they began to speculate what it was the white men were asking, and then whether they were getting it. As the service continued beyond expectation, it was concluded they were *not* getting it; and as the devotional duties still proceeded, they admired the perseverance with which this rejected suit was urged. At length, when the vesper hymn began, one of the savages observed to the other:—"Listen to them now in despair, crying with all their might."†

The grand doctrine of a life beyond the grave was, among all the tribes of America, most deeply cherished, and most sincerely believed.‡ They had even formed a distinct idea of the region whither they hoped to be transported, and of the new and happier mode of existence, free from those wars, tortures, and cruelties, which throw so dark a shade over their lot upon earth. Yet their conceptions on this subject were by no means either exalted or spiritualized. They expected simply a pro-

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1635, p. 72.

† La Potherie, vol. ii. p. 12. Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1667, p. 53-55; an 1635, p. 72.

‡ Animorum immortalitatem persuasissimam quidem omnes habent. Creuxius, p. 87.

longation of their present life and enjoyments, under more favourable circumstances, and with the same objects furnished in greater choice and abundance. In that brighter land the sun ever shines unclouded, the forests abound with deer, the lakes and rivers with fish; benefits which are farther enhanced in their imagination by a faithful wife and dutiful children. They do not reach it, however, till after a journey of several months, and encountering various obstacles,—a broad river, a chain of lofty mountains, and the attack of a furious dog. This favoured country lies far in the west, at the remotest boundary of the earth, which is supposed to terminate in a steep precipice, with the ocean rolling beneath. Sometimes in the too eager pursuit of game the spirits fall over, and are converted into fishes. The local position of their paradise appears connected with certain obscure intimations received from their wandering neighbours of the Mississippi, the Rocky Mountains, and the distant shores of the Pacific. This system of belief labours under a great defect, inasmuch as it scarcely connects felicity in the future world with virtuous conduct in the present. The one is held to be simply a continuation of the other; and under this impression, the arms, ornaments, and every thing that had contributed to the welfare of the deceased, are interred along with him. This supposed assurance of a future life, so conformable to their gross habits and conceptions, was found by the missionaries a serious obstacle, when they attempted to allure them by the hope of a destiny, purer and higher indeed, but less accordant with their untutored conceptions. Upon being told that in the promised world they would neither hunt, eat, drink, nor marry a wife, many of them declared that, far from endeavouring to reach such an abode, they would consider their arrival there as the greatest calamity. Mention is made of a Huron girl whom one of the Christian ministers was endeavouring to instruct, and whose first question was, what she would find to eat? The answer being "Nothing," she then asked what she would see; and being informed that she would see the Maker of heaven and earth, she expressed herself much at a

loss what she could have to say to him. Many not only rejected this destiny for themselves, but were indignant at the efforts made to decoy their children after death into so dreary and comfortless a region.*

Another sentiment, congenial with that now described, is most deeply rooted in the mind of the Indians. This is reverence for the dead, with which Chateaubriand, though perhaps somewhat hastily, considers them more deeply imbued than any other people.† During life they are by no means lavish in their expressions of tenderness; but on the approach of the hour of final separation it is displayed with extraordinary force. When any member of a family becomes seriously ill, all the resources of magic and medicine are exhausted in order to procure his recovery. When the fatal moment arrives, all the kindred burst into loud lamentations, which continue till some person possessing the requisite authority desires them to cease. These expressions of grief, however, are renewed for a considerable time, at sunrise and sunset. After three days the funeral takes place, when all the provisions which the family can procure are expended in a feast, to which the neighbours are generally invited, and, although on all solemn occasions it is required that every thing should be eaten, the relations do not partake. These last cut off their hair, cover their heads, paint their faces of a black colour, and continue long to deny themselves every species of amusement.‡ The deceased is then interred with his arms and ornaments, his face painted, and his person attired in the richest robes which they can furnish. It was the opinion of one of the early missionaries, that the chief object of the Hurons in their traffic with the French was to procure materials for honouring their dead; and as a proof of this, many of them have been seen shivering half-naked in the cold, while their hut contained rich robes to be wrapped round them after their decease.

* Missions en la Nouvelle France an 1637, pp 121, 170; an 1635, p 41. Creuxius, p. 87. Charlevoix, vol. ii. pp. 154, 155.
† Cura ingens mortuorum. Creuxius, p. 91.
‡ Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 191.

The body is placed in the tomb in an upright posture, and skins are carefully spread round it, so that no part may touch the earth. This, however, is by no means the final ceremony, being followed by another far more solemn and singular. Every eighth, tenth, or twelfth year, according to the custom of the different nations, is celebrated the festival of the dead; and till then the souls are supposed to hover round their former tenement, and not to depart for their final abode in the west. On this occasion the people march in procession to the places of interment, open the tombs, and, on beholding the mortal remains of their friends, continue some time fixed in mournful silence. The women then break out into loud cries, and the party begin to collect the bones, removing every remnant of flesh. The remains are then wrapped in fresh and valuable robes, and conveyed amid continued lamentation to the family-cabin. A feast is then given, followed during several days by dances, games, and prize-combats, to which strangers often repair from a great distance. This mode of celebration certainly accords very ill with the sad occasion; yet the Greek and Roman obsequies were solemnized in a similar manner; nay, in many parts of Scotland, till very recently, they were accompanied by festival, and often by revelry. The relics are then carried to the council-house of the nation, where they are hung for exhibition along the walls, with fresh presents destined to be interred along with them. Sometimes they are even displayed from village to village. At length, being deposited in a pit previously dug in the earth, and lined with the richest furs, they are finally entombed. Tears and lamentations are again lavished; and during a few days food is brought to the place. The bones of their fathers are considered by the Indians the strongest ties to their native soil; and when calamity forces them to quit it, these mouldering fragments are, if possible, conveyed along with them.*

Under the head of religious rites we may include

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 215. Creuxius, p. 91. Charlevoix, vol. ii. pp. 186, 187; 193-195.

medicine, which is almost entirely within the domain of superstition. The great warmth of affection which, amid their apparent apathy, the natives cherish for each other, urges them, when their friends are seriously ill, to seek with the utmost eagerness for a remedy. An order of men has thus arisen entirely different from the rest of the society, uniting the characters of priests, physicians, sorcerers, and sages. Nor are they quite strangers to some branches of the healing art. In external hurts or wounds, the cause of which is obvious, they apply various simples of considerable power, chiefly drawn from the vegetable world. Chateaubriand enumerates the ginseng of the Chinese, the sassafras, the three-leaved hedisaron, and a tall shrub called bellis; with decoctions from which they cure wounds and ulcers in a surprising manner. With sharp-pointed bones they scarify inflamed or rheumatic parts; and shells of gourds, filled with combustible matters, serve instead of cupping-glasses. They learned the art of bleeding from the French, but employed it sometimes rashly and fatally, by opening the vein in the forehead: they now understand it better, but their favourite specific in all internal complaints is the vapour-bath. To procure this, a small hut or shed is framed of bark or branches of trees, covered with skins, and made completely tight on every side, leaving only a small hole, through which the patient is admitted. By throwing red-hot stones into a pot of water, it is made to boil, and thus emit a warm steam, which, filling the hut, throws the patient into a most profuse perspiration. When he is completely bathed in it, he rushes out, even should it be in the depth of winter, and throws himself into the nearest pond or river; and this exercise, which we should be apt to think sufficient to produce death, is proved, by their example as well as that of the Russians, to be safe and salutary. As a very large proportion of their maladies arise from cold and obstructed perspiration, this remedy is by no means ill chosen. They attach to it, however, a supernatural influence, calling it the sorcerer's bath, and employ it

not only in the cure of diseases, but in opening their minds whenever they are to hold a council on great affairs, or to engage in any important undertaking.*

All cases of internal malady or of obscure origin are ascribed without hesitation to the secret agency of malignant powers or spirits. The physician, therefore, must then invest himself with his mystic character, and direct all his efforts against these invisible enemies. His proceedings are various, and prompted seemingly by a mixture of delusion and imposture. On his first arrival, he begins to sing and dance round the patient, invoking his god with loud cries. Then, pretending to search out the seat of the enchantment, he feels his body all over, till cries seem to indicate the bewitched spot. He then rushes upon it like a madman or an enraged dog, tears it with his teeth, and often pretends to show a small bone or other object which he has extracted, and in which the evil power had been lodged. His disciples next day renew the process, and the whole family join in the chorus, so that, setting aside the disease, a frame of iron would appear necessary to withstand the remedies. Another contrivance is, to surround the cabin with men of straw and wooden masks of the most frightful shapes, in hopes of scaring away the mysterious tormentor. Sometimes a painted image is formed, which the doctor pierces with an arrow, pretending that he has thereby vanquished the evil spirit. On other occasions he professes to discover a mysterious desire, which exists in the patient unknown to himself, for some particular object; and this, however distant or difficult of attainment, the poor family strain all their efforts to procure. It is alleged, that when the malady appears hopeless, he fixes upon something completely beyond reach, the want of which is then represented as the cause of death. The deep faith reposed in these preposterous remedies caused to the missionaries much difficulty even with their most intelligent converts. When a mother found

* Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 247-249. Creuxius, pp. 58, 59. Carver, pp. 390, 391. Long, pp. 46, 100.

one of her children dangerously ill, her pagan neighbours came round and assured her, that if she would allow it to be blown upon, and danced and howled round in the genuine Indian manner, there would be no doubt of a speedy recovery. They exhorted her to take it into the woods, where the black-robes, as they called the Christian priests, would not be able to find her. The latter could not fully undeceive their disciples, because in that less enlightened age they themselves were impressed with the notion that the magicians communicated with and derived aid from the Prince of Darkness. All they could do, therefore, was to exhort them resolutely to sacrifice any benefit that might be derived from so unholy a source. This, however, was a hard duty; and they record with pride the example of a Huron wife, who, though much attached to her husband, and apparently convinced that he could be cured by this impious process, chose rather to lose him. In other respects the missionaries suffered from the superstitious creed of the natives, who, even when unconverted, believed them to possess supernatural powers, which, it was suspected, they sometimes employed to introduce the epidemic diseases with which the country was from time to time afflicted. They exclaimed, it was not the demons that made so many die,—it was prayer, images, and baptism; and when a severe pestilential disorder followed the murder of a Frenchman who fell by their hands, they imagined that the priests were thus avenging the death of their countryman.*

We have still to describe the most prominent object of the Indian's passions and pursuits,—his warfare. It is that which presents him under the darkest aspect, effacing almost all his fine qualities, and assimilating his nature to that of fiends. While the most cordial union

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, an 1685, part iii. pp. 155, 217; ans 1642, 1643, p. 49; an 1637, part iii. pp. 216, 217; part ii. p. 238, &c. La Potherie, vol. ii. p. 36-40. Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 176-180.

reigns between the members of each tribe, they have neighbours whom they regard with the deepest enmity, and for whose extermination they continually thirst. The intense excitement which war affords, and the glory which rewards its achievements, probably give the primary impulse; but after hostilities have begun, the feeling which keeps them alive is revenge. Every Indian who falls into the power of an enemy, and suffers the dreadful fate to which the vanquished are doomed, must have his ghost appeased by a victim from that hostile race. Thus every contest generates another and a more deeply embittered one. Nor are they strangers to those more refined motives which urge civilized nations to take arms—the extension of their boundaries, an object pursued with ardent zeal, and the power of their tribe, which last they seek to promote by incorporating in its ranks the defeated bands of their antagonists. Personal dislike and the love of distinction often impel individuals to make inroads into a hostile territory even contrary to the general wish; but when war is to be waged by the whole nation, more enlarged views, connected with its interest and aggrandizement, guide the decision. To most savages, however, long-continued peace becomes irksome and unpopular; and the prudence of the aged can with difficulty restrain the fire of the young, who thirst for adventure.

As soon as the determination has been formed, the war-chief, to whom the voice of the nation assigns the supremacy, enters on a course of solemn preparation. This consists not, however, in providing arms or supplies for the campaign, for these are comprised in the personal resources of each individual. He devotes himself to observances which are meant to propitiate or learn the will of the Great Spirit, who, when considered as presiding over the destinies of war, is named Areskoui. He begins by marching three times round his winter-house, spreading the great bloody flag, variegated with deep tints of black. As soon as the young warriors see this signal of death, they crowd around, listening to the

oration by which he summons them to the field: "Comrades," he exclaims, "the blood of our countrymen is yet unavenged; their bones lie uncovered; their spirits cry to us from the tomb. Youths, arise! anoint your hair, paint your faces, let your songs resound through the forest, and console the dead with the assurance that they shall be avenged. Youths! follow me, while I march through the war-path to surprise our enemies, to eat their flesh, drink their blood, and tear them limb from limb! We shall return triumphant, or should we fall, this belt will record our valour." The wampum, that grand symbol of Indian policy, is then thrown on the ground. Many desire to lift it; but this privilege is reserved for some chief of high reputation, judged worthy to fill the post of second in command. The leader now commences his series of mystic observances. He is painted all over black, and enters on a strict fast, never eating, nor even sitting down, till after sunset. From time to time he drinks a decoction of consecrated herbs, with the view of giving vivacity to his dreams, which are carefully noted, and submitted to the deliberation of the sages and old men. When a warlike spirit is in the ascendant, it is understood that either their tenor or their interpretation betokens success. The powerful influence of the vapour-bath is also employed. After these solemn preliminaries, a copious application of warm water removes the deep black coating, and he is painted afresh in bright and varied colours, among which red predominates. A huge fire is kindled, whereon is placed the great war-cauldron, into which every one present throws something; and if any allies, invited by a belt of wampum and bloody hatchet to devour the flesh and drink the blood of the enemy, have accepted the summons, they send some ingredients to be also cast in. The chief then announces the enterprise by singing a war-song, never sounded but on such occasions, and his example is followed by all the warriors, who join in the military dance; recounting their former exploits, and dilating on those which they hope to achieve. They

Indian Warrior.

now proceed to arm, suspending the bow and quiver, or more frequently the musket, from the shoulder, the hatchet or tomahawk from the hand, while the scalping-knife is stuck in the girdle. A portion of parched corn or sagamity, prepared for the purpose, is received from the women, who frequently bear it to a considerable distance. But the most important operation is the collection of the manitous or guardian spirits, to be placed in a common box, which, like the Hebrew ark, is looked to as a protecting power. The females during these preparations have been busily negotiating for a supply of captives on whom to wreak their vengeance and appease the shades of their fallen kindred; sometimes also with the more merciful view of supplying their place. Tenderer feelings arise as the moment approaches when the

warriors must depart, perhaps to return no more, and it may be to endure the same dreadful fate which they are imprecating on others. The leader, having made a short harangue, commences the march, singing his war-song, while the others follow at intervals sounding the war-whoop. The women accompany them some distance, and when they must separate, they exchange endearing names, and express the most ardent wishes for a triumphant return; while each party receives and gives some object which has been long worn by the other, as a memorial of this tender parting.

As long as the warriors continue in their own country, they straggle in small parties for the convenience of hunting, still holding communication by shouts, in which they imitate the cries of certain birds and beasts. When arrived at the frontier, they all unite and hold another great festival, followed by solemn dreaming, the tenor of which is carefully examined. If found inauspicious, room is still left to return; and those whose courage shrinks are on such occasions supplied with an apology for relinquishing the undertaking; but such an issue is rare. On entering the hostile territory deep silence is enjoined; the chase is discontinued; they crawl on all fours; step on the trunks of fallen trees, or through swamps. Sometimes they fasten on their feet the hoof of the buffalo or the paw of the bear, and run in an irregular track like those animals. Equally earnest and skilful are they in tracing through the woods the haunts of the enemy. The slightest indications, such as would wholly escape the notice of a European, enable them to thread their course through the vast depths of the western forests. They boast of being able to discern the impression of steps even on the yielding grass, and of knowing by inspection the nation or tribe by whom it has been made. Various and ingenious artifices are employed to entrap their foe. From the recesses of the wood, they send forth the cries of the animals which are most eagerly sought by the rival hunters. Their grand object, however, is to surprise a village, and if

possible the principal one belonging to the hated tribe. Thither all their steps tend, as they steal like silent ghosts through the lonely forest. On approaching it, they cast hasty glances from the tops of trees or of hillocks, and then retreat into the thickest covert; but in total disregard of the most disastrous experience, the obvious precaution of placing nightly sentinels has never been adopted. Even when aware of danger, they content themselves with exploring the vicinity two or three miles around, when, if nothing is discovered, they go to sleep without dread. This supineness is much fostered by a delusive confidence in the manitous enclosed in the holy ark. If during the day the assailants have reached unperceived a covert spot in the neighbourhood of the devoted village, they expect the satisfaction of finding its inhabitants buried in the deepest slumber in the course of the ensuing night. They keep close watch till immediately before daybreak, when silence and security are usually the most complete. Then, flat on their faces, and carefully suppressing the slightest sound, they creep slowly towards the scene of action. Having reached it undiscovered, the chief, by a shrill cry, gives the signal, which is instantly followed by a discharge of arrows or musketry; after which they rush in with the war-club and the tomahawk. The air echoes with the sound of the death-whoop and of arms. The savage aspect of the combatants; their faces painted black and red, and soon streaming with blood; their frightful yells, make them appear like demons risen from the world beneath. The victims, too late aroused, spring from their fatal slumber, and foreseeing the dreadful fate which awaits them if taken prisoners, make almost superhuman struggles for deliverance. The contest rages with all the fury of revenge and despair, but it is usually short. The unhappy wretches, surprised and bewildered, can seldom rally or resist; they seek safety by fleeing into the depth of forests or marshes, whither they are hotly pursued. The main study of the victorious party is to take the fugitives alive, in order to

subject them to the horrible punishments which will be presently described. Should this be impracticable, the tomahawk or the hatchet despatches them on the spot; and the scalp is then carried off as a trophy. Placing a foot on the neck of his fallen enemy, and twisting a hand in the hair, the warrior draws out a long sharp-pointed knife, specially formed for this operation; then cutting a circle round the crown of the head, by a few skilful scoops he detaches the hair and skin, lodges the whole in his bag, and returns in triumph.*

At the close of the expedition, the warriors repair to their village, and, even in approaching, announce its result by various signals well understood among their families. According to the most approved custom, the evil tidings are first communicated. A herald advances before the troop, and for every kinsman who has fallen sounds the death-whoop,—a shrill lengthened note ending in an elevated key. An interval is then allowed, during which the burst of grief excited by these tidings may be in some degree exhausted. Then rises the loud inspiring sound of the war-whoop, which, by its successive repetitions, expresses the number of captives brought home as the fruits of victory. The barbarous joy thus kindled banishes for the moment all trace of lamentation. The women and children form two rows, through which the prisoner is led, having his face painted, and crowned with flowers as for a festival. Then begins the darkest of all the scenes by which savage life is deformed. A series of studied and elaborate torture commences, in which ingenuity is tasked to the utmost to inflict the intensest agony that can be endured without actually extinguishing life. The first caress, as the French call it, is to tear the nails from the fingers; the flesh is then pierced to the bone, and fire in various forms applied to the extremities. Blows are also given to the

* Charlevoix, vol. i. pp. 317, 327, 330, 338, 339, 359-361. Adair, p. 380-388. Rogers' Concise Account of North America (London, 1765), p. 222.

last degree that nature can sustain; and sometimes an amusement is found in tossing, for a long time, the victim like a ball from one to another. Other contrivances, peculiar to infuriated savages, are sometimes resorted to. One missionary, for example, being made to lie on his back, had his stomach covered with sagamity, on which hungry dogs were set to feed, which tore his flesh with their teeth. The unhappy wretch is occasionally paraded from village to village, kept for weeks in this state of suffering, fed on the coarsest refuse, and allowed only a neglected corner of the cabin to sleep in. At length a grand council is held, to decide his fate; or, in other words, to determine whether all the furies of vengeance shall be let loose upon him, and his life be taken away amid the most frightful tortures, or whether he shall be saluted as one of themselves, and treated as a brother. The decision is influenced by various considerations. If he be a youth, or new to the field, a lenient course may probably be adopted; but a veteran warrior who has been the terror of the nation, and on whose skin is painted a record of triumphs, has to dread a sterner sentence. The women have much influence, according as they either demand revenge for the loss of a husband or brother, or solicit that the captive may supply the vacancy. The Iroquois, though the fiercest of these barbarians, being the deepest politicians, were always anxious to augment their numbers; hence, though they prolonged and heightened the preliminary torture, they usually ended it by adoption. This was carried so far that they are described as having at length become less a single nation than an aggregate of all the surrounding tribes. The stranger being received into one of the families as a husband, brother, or son, is treated with the utmost tenderness; and she, who perhaps immediately before exhausted her ingenuity in tormenting him, now nurses the wounds she has made, and loads him with caresses. He becomes completely one of the clan, and goes with them to war, even against his former countrymen, and so far is the point of honour carried, that to

return into their ranks would be branded as an act of baseness.*

There are however many occasions in which the more inhuman resolution is taken, and a fearful display is then made of the darkest passions that can agitate the human breast. The captive is informed of his fate by being invested with mocassins of black bear's skin, and having placed over his head a flaming torch,—the sure indications of his doom. Before the fatal scene begins, however, he is allowed a short interval to sing his death-song, which he performs in a triumphant tone. He proclaims the joy with which he goes to the land of souls, where he will meet his brave ancestors, who taught him the great lesson to fight and to suffer. He recounts his warlike exploits, particularly those performed against the kindred of his tormentors; and if there was any one of them whom he vanquished and caused to expire amid tortures, he loudly proclaims it. He declares his inextinguishable desire to eat their flesh, and to drink their blood to the last drop. This scene is considered, even when compared to the field of battle, as the great theatre of Indian glory. When two prisoners were about to be tortured by the French at Quebec, a charitable hand privately supplied a weapon with which one of them killed himself; but the other derided his effeminacy, and proudly prepared himself for his fiery trial. In this direful work the women take the lead, and seem transformed into raging furies. She, to glut whose vengeance the doom has been specially pronounced, invokes the spirit of her husband, her brother, or her son, who has fallen in battle or died amid torture, bidding him come now and be appeased. A feast is prepared for him; a warrior is to be thrown into the great cauldron; his blood will be poured out; his flesh torn from the bones; let the injured spirit then cease to

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 366-373. Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1642, 1643, p. 257, &c.; ans 1643, 1644, p. 162-168. Adair, p. 389.

complain. A game begins between the torturers and the tortured, one to inflict the most intense suffering, the other to bear it with proud insensibility. That there may be some appearance of open contest, he is not chained, but merely tied to a post,* and a certain range allowed, within which, while the brand, the hatchet, and every engine of torture are applied, he can do somewhat to repel his assailants, and even attack in his turn. He struggles fiercely in the unequal strife, and while his frame is consuming in agony, still defies his tormentors, and outbraves death itself. Some even deride the feeble efforts of their executioners, boasting how much more effectively they themselves had applied torture to individuals of their tribe. Yet there are instances, when the murderers at last triumph; the sufferer exclaims, "Fire is strong, and too powerful;" he even utters loud shrieks, which are responded to by exulting shouts of savage laughter. Some few have been known, by almost incredible efforts, to break loose, and by rapid flight effect their escape. The general result, however, is death, after protracted suffering; when the scalp, if still entire, is taken off and deposited among the military trophies.*

It has been made a question whether the Indians can be justly charged with cannibalism. It is certain that all the terms by which they designate their inhuman mode of putting a prisoner to death bear reference to this horrid practice. The expressions are to throw him into the cauldron, to devour him, to eat soup made of his flesh. It has hence been plausibly inferred that this enormity really prevailed in early times, but was changed, we can scarcely say mitigated, into the present system of torture. Yet, as every action is described by them in terms highly figurative, those now quoted may have been used as expressing most fully the complete gratification of their revenge. Of this charge they cannot now be either condemned or wholly acquitted. In

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 375. Adair, pp. 390, 391. Colden, vol. i. pp. 144, 145.

the excited fury of their passions, portions of the flesh are often seized, roasted, and eaten, and draughts taken of the blood. To eat an enemy's heart is considered a peculiar enjoyment. Long mentions a gentleman who came upon a party who were busy broiling a human heart, when he with difficulty prevailed on them to desist. There is little hesitation amongst them, in periods of scarcity, to relieve hunger with the flesh of their captives; and during one war, this fate is said to have befallen many French soldiers who fell into the hands of the Five Nations. Colonel Schuyler told Colden, that having entered the cabin of a chief who had some rich soup before him, he was invited to partake. Being hungry and tired, he readily agreed, till the ladle being put into the great cauldron, brought up a human hand, the sight of which put an immediate end to his appetite and meal.*

Although war may be considered as the ordinary state of those tribes, yet, after having for a considerable time experienced its destructive effects, there usually arises a desire for an interval of tranquillity. To procure this, a regular form is observed. The nation which resolves to make the overture despatches several individuals, usually of some note, as ambassadors, with at least one orator. They bear before them the calumet of peace, which renders their character sacred, and secures them from violence. They carry also a certain number of belts of wampum, with which are respectively connected the several motives and terms of the proposed treaty. The orator having obtained an audience of the chiefs on the other side, expounds the belts, dancing and singing in unison, and by actions expressing the peaceful purpose of his mission. If the opposite party be favourably inclined, they accept the offered symbols, and next day present others of a similar import. He then smokes in the calumet, and the contract is sealed by burying a hatchet; if there

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 318. Adair, p. 199. Long, pp. 77, 78. Colden, vol. i. p. 156.

be any allies, one is deposited for each. This agreement is often accompanied with professions, at the moment perhaps sincere, of maintaining the sun always in the heavens, and never again digging up the hatchet; but the turbulence of individuals, and the satiety of long peace, to which the whole nation is subject, usually rekindle hostilities at no distant period.*

Some notice may finally be expected of Indian amusements; the most favourite of which are smoking, music, and dancing. These, however, are viewed in a much higher light than mere pastime; being ranked among the most serious occupations, and esteemed quite indispensable in the conduct of every important affair. Without them a council cannot be held, a negotiation carried on, peace or war proclaimed, nor any public or private contract entered into; for not one of these transactions is accounted valid, till it has been smoked over and sung and danced to. The calumet is the grand instrument of their policy. No important affair can be taken into consideration without the pipe in their mouths; and hence, to call an assembly of the chiefs is said to be lighting the council-fire. This tube accompanies and is the guardian of every embassy, and to smoke together is the chief cement of national union.

Music and dancing accompanying each other are equally indispensable to every solemn celebration. Yet the instruments and performance are alike simple and rude; for their song, though often continued for a long period, consists merely in the perpetual iteration of a few wild melancholy notes. The words are usually of the minstrel's own composition, and record his exploits in war or hunting, and sometimes the praises of the animals which he has killed in the chase. The song is accompanied by performance on the drum, and on the chichikoue, or pipe. The former is merely a hollowed piece of wood, covered with skin; the latter is formed of a thick cane, upwards of two feet in length, with eight

* Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 321.

or nine holes; and a mouthpiece not unlike that of a common whistle. Those who know how to stop the holes and bring out a sound consider themselves performers; yet they cannot play upon it even those simple airs which they execute with the voice, though they will often continue for hours drawing out wild irregular notes.

The dances of the Indians, even those at common festivals, are on an extensive scale; requiring to a complete performance forty or fifty persons, who execute their evolutions by following each other round a great fire kindled in the centre. Their movements, monotonous but violent, consist in stamping furiously on the ground, and often brandishing their arms in a manner compared by an able writer to a baker converting flour into dough. They keep good time; but the music is so exceedingly simple that this implies little merit. They conclude with a loud shout or howl, which echoes frightfully through the woods. The dances in celebration of particular events are of a more varied character, and often form a very expressive pantomime. The war-dance is the most favourite and frequent. In this extraordinary performance, a complete image is given of the terrible reality; the war-whoop is sounded with the most frightful yells; the tomahawk is wildly brandished; and the enemy are surprised, seized, and scalped, or carried off for torture. The calumet-dance, which celebrates peace between nations, and the marriage-dance, which represents domestic life, are much more pleasing. Some mention is made of a mystic dance, carried on by the jugglers or doctors, with strange superstitious ceremonies, and in which a supernatural personage, termed by some the devil, rises and performs; but it does not seem to have been witnessed by any European, and is said to be now in a great measure disused.*

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1645, 1646, pp. 20, 21. Weld, p. 412-417. Creuxius, p. 67. Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 205. Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 70. Carver, pp. 270, 271.

There are, moreover, games to which the Indians are fondly attached, which, though they be only ranked under the head of amusement, are yet conducted in the same serious manner as their other transactions. Their great parties are said to be collected by supernatural authority, communicated by the jugglers; and they are preceded, like their wars and hunts, by a course of fasting, dreaming, and other means of propitiating fortune. The favourite game is that of the bone, in which small pieces of that substance, resembling dice, and painted of different colours, are thrown in the air, and according to the manner in which they fall, the game is decided. Only two persons can play; but a numerous party, and sometimes whole villages, embrace one side or the other, and look on with intense interest. At each throw, especially if it be decisive, tremendous shouts are raised; the players and spectators equally resemble persons possessed; the air rings with invocations to the bones, and to the manitous. Their eagerness sometimes leads to quarrelling and even fighting, which on no other occasion ever disturb the interior of these societies. To such a pitch are they occasionally worked up, that they stake successively all they possess, and even their personal liberty; but this description must apply only to the more southern nations, as slavery was unknown among the Canadian Indians.

A temporary interval of wild license, of emancipation from all the restraints of dignity and decorum, seems to afford an enjoyment highly prized in all rude societies. Corresponding with the saturnalia and bacchanals of antiquity, the Americans have their festival of dreams, which, during fifteen days, enlivens the inaction of the coldest season. Laying aside all their usual order and gravity, they run about, frightfully disguised, and committing every imaginable extravagance. He who meets another demands an explanation of his visions, and if not satisfied, imposes some fantastic penalty. He throws upon him cold water, hot ashes, or filth;

sometimes rushing into his cabin he breaks and destroys the furniture. Although every thing appears wild and unpremeditated, it is alleged that opportunities are often taken to give vent to old and secret resentments. The period having elapsed, a feast is given, order is restored, and the damages done are carefully repaired.*

On the first settlement of Europeans in Canada, that territory was chiefly divided between three great nations,—the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Iroquois or Five Nations. The first held an extensive domain along the northern bank of the St Lawrence, about a hundred leagues above Trois Rivières. Shortly before, they had been the most powerful of all these tribes, and considered even in some degree as masters over this part of America. They are described also as having the mildest aspect and most polished manners of any. They subsisted entirely by hunting, and looked with proud disdain on their neighbours, who consented to bestow on the soil even the smallest cultivation.† The Hurons were a numerous people, whose very extensive territory reached from the Algonquin frontier to the borders of the great lake bearing their name. They were also more industrious, and derived an abundant subsistence from the fine territory of Upper Canada. But they were at the same time more effeminate and voluptuous, and had less of the proud independence of savage life, having chiefs hereditary in the female line, to whom they paid considerable deference.

The Iroquois, destined to act the most conspicuous part among all the native tribes, occupied a long range of territory on the southern border of the St Lawrence, from Lake Champlain to the western extremity of Lake Ontario. They were thus beyond the limits of what is now considered Canada; yet, as all their transactions were

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 13-15, 159-164, &c. Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 238-242. La Potherie, vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

† La Potherie, vol. i. p. 232-289.

completely connected with the interests of that country, we cannot at present avoid considering them as belonging to it.

This people were divided into five cantons, each of which was considered as an independent nation. They were united, however, by the closest alliance; are never found waging war with each other; nor did they often fail to combine their forces when attacked by neighbouring tribes.* The following are the names given to them by English and French authors:—

English.	French.
Mohawks.	Agniers.
Oneidas.	Onneyouths.
Onondagoes.	Onontagues.
Cayugas.	Anniegué.
Senekas.	Tsonnonthouans.

* La Potherie, vol. i. p. 232-289. Rogers, p. 237. Colden, pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER III.

History of Canada under the French.

Earliest Discoveries of the English and French—De la Roche—Chauvin and Pontgravé—De Monts—Champlain, employed by him, ascends the St Lawrence—Founds Quebec—Dealings with a Party of Natives—Joins a warlike Expedition—Victory—Torture—Transactions in France—Fresh military Encounter—Foundation of Montreal—Various Transactions—Voyage up the Ottawa—Great Expedition against the Iroquois—Unsuccessful—Difficulties in France—Appointment of De Caen—Peace among the Indian Tribes—Duke de Ventadour Viceroy—Rupture of the Treaty—Quebec taken by the English—Restored—Large Supplies sent out—Death of Champlain—Great Power of the Five Nations—Treaty with them—War renewed—Destruction of the French Indian Allies—A Remnant flee to Quebec—Iroquois Masters of Canada—Louis XIV. determines to reinforce the Colony—Expedition under De Tracy—Government of De Courcelles—Frontenac—De la Barre—His fruitless Expedition—Denonville—His violent Proceedings—Critical State of the Colony—Second Government of Frontenac—Capture of Corlaer or Schenectady—The English under Phipps attack Quebec—Repulsed—Negotiations with the Indians—Invasion of their Territory—Death of Frontenac—De Callières—Peace, and speedy Renewal of War—Attempts by the English to conquer Canada—Treaty of Utrecht—Charlevoix's Account of the State of the Colony—Its Prosperity—Administration of Du Quesne.

THE English took decidedly the most prominent part in the discovery of North America. In 1497, John Cabot, under a commission from Henry VII., landed on its shores, four years only after Columbus had reached the West Indies, and nearly twelve months before that celebrated navigator had touched at any part of the con-

tinent. In the following year, Sebastian, son to the first discoverer, performed a most extensive exploratory voyage along the greater part of the eastern coast, to lat. 56° or 58° N., and south as far as Florida. The same eminent seaman took part in another expedition undertaken in 1517, for the discovery of a north-west passage. The squadron appears to have penetrated into Hudson's Bay, but through the pusillanimity of Sir Thomas Pert, the commander, returned without completing the object in view. These interesting voyages, however, have been illustrated with such diligent and acute research by Mr Tytler, that to our readers another detailed narrative of them would be very superfluous.*

Various circumstances combined to withdraw the successors of Henry from this brilliant career. They were succeeded in it by France; and it is singular that the settlement of by far the greater part of what is now British America was effected by that power. When, too, England had wrested these possessions from her rival, she retained them after most of her own colonies had established their independence; for which reason we find it necessary to enter at considerable length into the proceedings of those Gallic adventurers who laid the foundations of civilisation in the Canadian provinces.

In 1524, Francis I. commissioned Giovanni Verazzano, a skilful Florentine navigator, who appears to have sailed along the whole coast from Carolina to the northern extremity of Nova Scotia. It was then appropriated in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, under the magnificent title of New France. His second expedition was disastrous; but in 1534, Jacques Cartier, a bold and able mariner of St Malo, was sent out with a similar view. This discoverer made two voyages, in the second of which he penetrated up the St Lawrence as high as the position now occupied by Montreal, and brought home

* Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX.), pp. 19-28, 39-41.

with him Donnaconna, a native king. He was employed a third time in 1540, though in a subordinate rank, under the Sieur de Roberval, an opulent nobleman of Picardy, who, having agreed to defray the expense of the expedition, was created Lieutenant-general and Viceroy. The enterprise was begun with spirit; and a fort named Charlesbourg was erected near the site now occupied by Quebec. The natives, however, showed a hostile spirit; the two leaders quarrelled; and Roberval abandoned the undertaking. He renewed it in 1549, but with an issue singularly unfortunate, neither he nor his brother, who accompanied him, being ever again heard of. For the details of these voyages also we refer to the work above mentioned, where they will be found narrated in a very satisfactory manner.*

These failures, and still more perhaps the distracted state of France during many years, occasioned by religious wars, withdrew the attention of the government from schemes of transatlantic colonization. The merchants, however, of the great commercial towns, particularly Dieppe, Rouen, St Malo, and Rochelle, had opened communications, and even established posts for the prosecution of the fur-trade. That of Canada was carried on chiefly at Tadoussac, near the mouth of the river Saguenay.

Tranquillity being restored by the union of parties under the sway of Henry IV., the public attention was again directed towards New France. The Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, undertook to equip an expedition on a large scale, and form a settlement on that remote shore. The encouragements to such enterprises were always liberal; and Henry in this respect seems to have surpassed all other monarchs. The marquis was authorized not only to levy troops, make war, build forts and cities, and enact laws, but even to create lords, counts, barons, and similar dignities. He accordingly equipped several vessels, with a considerable

* Pages 53-67.

number of settlers, whom, however, he was obliged to draw partly from the prisons of Paris. He sailed under the guidance of Chedotel, a Norman pilot; but of the voyage it is only narrated, that he landed and left forty men on Sable Island, a small barren spot near the coast of Nova Scotia. He then returned; when being thwarted in his designs at court, he fell sick, and died of chagrin. The colonists were entirely forgotten, and soon experienced such hardships as caused even the criminals among them to regret their dungeons. Having with a few planks, obtained from a wrecked vessel, erected a hut, they were obliged to subsist on the fish which they caught, and to replace their worn-out garments with the skins of sea-wolves. In this condition they were left seven years, when the king, or according to Champlain the parliament of Rouen, sent out Chedotel to see what was become of them. He found only twelve survivors, who exhibited the most wretched and deplorable aspect. On their return to France, they waited upon Henry, who received them kindly, and made them a handsome donation.*

The king was still disposed to encourage colonization. In 1599, two eminent naval characters, Chauvin of Rouen and Pontgravé of St Malo, undertook to settle five hundred persons, and prevailed on his majesty to aid them, by granting a monopoly of the fur-trade on the St Lawrence. Chauvin, it is alleged, was disposed to execute as little as possible of the agreement, his chief object being to avail himself of the exclusive traffic. However, being under the necessity of making some show, he fitted out two vessels, and arrived at Tadoussac. This situation being bleak and barren in the extreme, he was strongly advised to proceed farther up the river, to one which was reported to be much more advantageous. Disregarding this suggestion, he built a house twenty-four feet long, eighteen broad, and eight high, surrounded it

* Histoire Générale des Voyages (19 vols 4to, Paris, 1746-1770), tome xiv. p. 589-591. Champlain, Voyages du Sieur de (2 vols 8vo, Paris, 1830), tome i. p. 41-43.

with a ditch, and lodged there sixteen settlers for the winter. They had, however, a very slender stock of provisions, and on the setting in of the cold, were reduced to the last extremity, and finally obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of the natives. From that simple people they experienced a great degree of kindness, but, nevertheless, suffered such hardships, that many of them perished before the arrival of vessels from France. Chauvin performed another voyage, which was as fruitless as the first; and in the course of a third he was taken ill and died.*

Fresh adventurers were never wanting in this hazardous enterprise. The next was the Commandeur de Chaste, governor of Dieppe, who, though already gray with years, engaged in it, and prevailed upon some considerable merchants to second him. He made a most important acquisition in Samuel Champlain, the destined founder of the French settlements in Canada, who had just arrived from the East Indies. He and Pontgravé were sent out to Tadoussac, with instructions to ascend the St Lawrence, and examine the country on its upper borders. They penetrated as far as the Sault St Louis, a little above Montreal; but finding it impossible to pass that cataract, they with some difficulty reached the height above it, where they made the best observations they could on the river and country. Champlain, on his arrival in France, was dismayed to find De Chaste dead, and the whole undertaking deranged. He proceeded, however, to Paris, and showed to the king a chart and description of the region he had surveyed, with which his majesty appeared highly pleased.†

Scarcely an interval elapsed, when the same enterprise was taken up by De Monts, a gentleman of opulence and distinction, and a special favourite of Henry. He obtained the highest privileges that had been granted to any of his predecessors, and having prepared an expedition on a more extensive scale than any former one,

* Champlain, tome i. p. 44-43. † Ibid. tome i. p. 49-53.

he put to sea; but as he had accompanied Chauvin to Tadoussac, and viewed that bleak shore, he felt very averse to enter the St Lawrence. It appeared to him that the seacoast, being in a more southern latitude, was likely to enjoy a milder climate; an idea plausible, though erroneous. He directed his chief efforts, therefore, to the country now named Nova Scotia; and though his operations there were disastrous to his companions, and ultimately to himself, they were the means of founding the important colony of Acadia. Our narrative of these adventurers, however, is reserved till we come to treat of that province.*

Champlain, whose services he had secured, then remonstrated with him on the error of preferring an iron-bound coast to the beautiful and fertile banks of the upper St Lawrence. De Monts listened to the suggestion, and, undeterred by previous losses, applied to the king for a commission. He obtained it without difficulty, associated, as before, with the grant of a monopoly of the fur-trade on the river. He fitted out two vessels, but not finding it convenient to command in person, placed them under Champlain, who, accompanied by Pontgravé, was authorized to act as his lieutenant.†

The expedition sailed from Honfleur on the 13th April 1608, and on the 3d June reached Tadoussac. The Saguenay, hitherto the chief seat of the traffic in furs, was described as flowing from a considerably distant source in the north. Forty or fifty leagues up, its current was broken by a succession of falls, beyond which was a lake (St John) which it required three days to cross. On the other side were wandering tribes, from whom the skins were chiefly procured, and who reported, that in their roamings they came in view of the Northern Sea. Champlain had sufficient information to know that this could only be a large gulf; though he had no knowledge of Hudson's Bay, which had not yet been entered by the great navigator whose name it

* Champlain, tome i. p. 54-56. † Ibid. pp. 150, 151.

bears. The small port of Tadoussac was tolerably safe; but the shore consisted only of dreary rocks and sands, scantily clothed with larch and pine. He could find nothing to catch except a few small birds, which visited the spot only in summer. The natives who traded with the French sailed in canoes of birch-bark, so light that a man could easily carry them from one river or lake to another.

The navigator continued to ascend the stream, though the banks were still naked and unpromising, till he reached the Isle of Orleans, which formed the commencement of the most valuable part of the river, being adorned with fine woods and meadows.*

After passing this island, he immediately sought a commodious place of settlement, and soon fixed on a hill richly clothed with vines and walnut-trees, called by the natives Quebeio or Quebec. Having begun to clear and build, he formed an acquaintance with a number of the natives busily employed in the fishery of eels. They showed a considerable disposition to adopt European culture and other improvements, the introduction of which he was led to hope might issue in their conversion.†

The Frenchman spent the winter here, and sowed some grain, for which he found the soil well adapted. The inhabitants, who, unlike those higher up the river, did not practise agriculture in any degree, were often reduced to the most dreadful extremes of famine. Of this the settlers witnessed a painful example in February 1609, when a party of the savages, seeing them from the opposite bank, and hoping to obtain relief, resolved to cross, without regard to the floating ice. The French considered the attempt quite desperate; and, accordingly, in mid-channel, the canoes were dashed to pieces, and the poor creatures leaped on a mass of ice, whence they raised the most doleful cries. By peculiarly good fortune, a larger piece struck that on which they

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 3, 4. † Ibid. liv. iv. ch. 5.

stood, and caused it to drift ashore. They landed with joy, but in a state of such ravening hunger, that had the discoverers made any attempt to satisfy it, their whole stock would have been swallowed up. A limited allowance was, however, granted, which they sought to augment by very strange expedients. A dead pig and dog had been laid out as a bait for foxes; but having been exposed two months, and the weather becoming milder, such a scent issued from them, that the French could scarcely approach the spot. The new comers, however, on discovering this store, exultingly carried it to their hut, and began to feast upon it. Their hosts ran to warn them of the danger of such food, but found them so busily engaged, each with a piece in his hand, that remonstrance was vain, and being themselves assailed with disgusting odours from the half-cooked victuals, they were glad to retreat. Another dead dog had been placed on the top of a tree to attract birds of prey. The natives were so extremely weak, that they could not climb, but having by great efforts cut down the tree, they possessed themselves of this highly-flavoured morsel.*

As soon as the season admitted, Champlain resumed his voyage up the river, the banks of which were covered with noble forests. Twenty-five leagues above Quebec, at a small island named St Eloi, he met a band, belonging chiefly to the celebrated nation of the Algonquins, commanded by two chiefs, Yroquet and Ochasteguin. It now appears that a treaty had already been opened at the winter station by a son of the former, through whom they had promised to assist the stranger in his attempt to traverse the country of the Iroquois, on the condition that he should aid them in a war against that fierce people. The zeal of our adventurer blinded him not only to the danger, but to the guilt of this most unprovoked aggression on a nation who had never offended him. In reply to a solemn appeal from the savage chiefs, he

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 6.

assured them of his determination strictly to fulfil this questionable engagement, and accepted of their proposal to visit him previously at Quebec.* They accompanied him thither, and, exulting in the prospect of approaching triumph, spent five or six days in dancing and festivity, while Champlain procured a reinforcement from Tadoussac. He set out with his new allies on the 28th May; and in a short time, having passed through Lake St Pierre, he reached the mouth of the river which takes its rise in the country of the Iroquois. He had been apprized that fifteen leagues farther up there was a considerable fall, but had been led to hope that his light shallop might be conveyed beyond it. On reconnoitring the spot, he found this to be quite impracticable, as the stream, from bank to bank, was dashing with violence amid rocks and stones; and his party had not strength to cut a road through the woods. Nothing, however, could damp his ardour; and in the failure of every other resource, he determined to commit himself to the canoes of the savages, and share their fate. As soon, however, as this was announced to his men, they "bled at the nose;" and two only were found who did not shrink from accompanying the Indians.†

By carrying their canoes, arms, and baggage, half a league overland, the natives avoided the fall and re-embarked. When night approached they landed, reared huts covered with birch-bark, and having cut down large trees, formed round the spot a barricade of such strength, that five hundred assailants could not have stormed it without much difficulty. They sent some of their number to reconnoitre a few miles up and down the river, but rejected the advice of their European ally to set a watch during the night. High conjurations were now performed by the *pilotois* or priest, who was placed alone in a cabin, while the multitude sat round in solemn silence. Violent and mysterious movements shook the wigwam, which the Frenchman clearly perceived to be produced by its

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 7. † Ibid. tome i. liv. iii. ch. 8.

crafty inmate; while, in answer to his solemn call, the demon appeared, and, in the form of a stone, foretold the issue of the enterprise. Solemn sounds overawed the spectators, though it was easy to discover that they were all uttered by the pilotois himself. The French chief was also every morning carefully examined regarding his dreams, and great exultation was expressed when they appeared to portend success. The only drilling employed to prepare them for the approaching battle was confined to their taking a number of canes, one for each man, with two longer ones for the chiefs, and fixing them in the ground according to the order in which the troops were to advance. The Indians then practised the various movements till they could arrange themselves exactly in the same manner. The river was diversified with numerous low islands, abounding in woods, meadows, and game, but deserted in consequence of the deadly wars which had for some time been raging. It opened into an extensive lake, now named, from our traveller, Champlain, and containing four large islands, also uninhabited. They had reached its southern extremity, and even entered a smaller one (George) connected with it, when, on the 29th June, at ten in the evening, they beheld the Iroquois, who raised loud shouts of defiance, and began hastily to arm and to form a barricade with trunks of trees. The invaders sent two canoes to ask if their adversaries would fight; the answer was, there was nothing they more desired, but the hour was unsuitable, adding, however, that they would be ready next morning at daybreak. This delay was approved; but the two parties, instead of qualifying themselves for the combat by taking suitable rest, danced the whole night without intermission, exchanging the most embittered expressions of reproach and contempt. The Algonquins being told that neither their courage nor arms were of any value, and that to-morrow would witness their doom, threw out in return mysterious hints, that their adversaries would then see something never before witnessed. In the morning they landed, and the French chief saw

the enemy come out of their barricade, two hundred strong, firm and robust, headed by leaders with waving plumes, and advancing with a bold and determined aspect which struck him with admiration. He and his two countrymen stationed themselves at different points, and the natives made way for him to go about twenty paces in front. He then fired an arquebuss, loaded with four balls, by which two Indians were killed, and one mortally wounded. His allies raised shouts which would have drowned the loudest thunder, while the enemy were astounded at seeing armour, proof against native weapons, pierced by this unknown instrument of destruction. Yet they still poured in clouds of arrows, till another shot fired from a thicket excited such a degree of fear that they fled precipitately, abandoning their fort, and seeking refuge in the heart of the forest. A number were killed, and ten or twelve taken prisoners.*

The savages, having celebrated their victory with dance and festival, immediately began their return to their own country. After travelling sixteen leagues, they took one of the captives, and in a formal harangue recounted to him all the cruelties of his countrymen, which he must now expiate; they then summoned him, if he were a man of courage, to sing. He did so, though in a somewhat lugubrious tone. Champlain then was perhaps the first European who beheld that horrid scene of torture, which we spare our readers, though described by him in the most minute detail. He did not, however, witness that stoical apathy so often displayed, for the sufferer occasionally uttered loud shrieks, though his fortitude was on the whole wonderful. The Frenchman was asked why he did not join in this triumphant vengeance; and when he declared that the sight gave him pain, and even showed a disposition to withdraw, they allowed him to terminate the scene by a discharge of his arquebuss. The most shocking indignities were in-

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 9.

flicted on the lifeless body; even the heart was plucked out and cut in small pieces, which the other prisoners were compelled to receive into their mouths, though they were not expected to swallow the horrid morsel. The Algonquins marched on with the remaining Iroquois, who continued to sing, though fully aware of their approaching fate. Another employment of the victors was to ornament the heads of the slain, to be displayed in triumph on their arrival. With this view they earnestly solicited from Champlain some copies of the paternoster, which sacred article, amid all his professions of piety, he did not hesitate to bestow for this profane purpose. Thus prepared, as the party approached home, the heads were fastened on the ends of poles, and exhibited to the women, who came swimming across the river to meet their lords. The adventurer himself was presented with one of these savage trophies, with a request that he would offer it to his sovereign, which, to please them, he engaged to do.*

On the author's return from this expedition, which seemed to hold out a great promise of ultimate success, he was greeted with unfavourable tidings from France. The merchants of that country, to his deep indignation, though we think with very good reason, had raised loud complaints of the injury which they as well as the nation at large sustained by the fur-trade being confined to a single individual. De Monts' commission was in consequence revoked, and his lieutenant was obliged to return home. He gave an account of his transactions, first to his patron, and then to the king, who listened to them with much satisfaction. All his attempts, however, to procure a renewal of the monopoly proved abortive; yet such was his zeal, that he determined even without this aid to retain the settlement. To lighten the expense, he made an agreement with some traders at Rochelle, to give them the use of his building at Quebec as a depot for their goods, while they by

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 10.

way of recompense engaged to assist him in his plans of colonization. He was thus enabled in 1610 to fit out Champlain with a considerable reinforcement and fresh supplies.*

On his return to the St Lawrence, he received an application from the Algonquins to assist them in a new war; and they promised to join him with 400 men at the entrance of the Iroquois river. Undeterred by any motive either of fear or principle, and seemingly without any hesitation, he accepted the proposal; but on reaching the spot affairs were found more urgent than had been supposed. A canoe arrived with intelligence that a hundred of the enemy were so strongly intrenched in the vicinity, that without the aid of the Misthigosches, as the French were termed, it appeared impossible to dislodge them. The savages, on this information, hurried on board of their canoes, and prevailed on their European friend to quit his bark, and accompany them with four of his countrymen. On landing, the natives ran forward so swiftly that they were soon out of the sight of their allies, who floundered after them through woods and marshes, tormented by mosquitoes, and much at a loss for their way. They met, however, an Indian, who came in all haste to inform them that his brethren, ill acquainted with military tactics, had no sooner arrived, than, without waiting for the French, they rushed to the assault; and that, having sustained a most severe repulse, in which several of their chiefs were killed and a number wounded, all their hope was now placed in their auxiliaries. Having proceeded about half a mile, they heard the howlings of the hostile parties, who, as usual, poured on each other torrents of invective. On their appearance, these illustrious allies raised shouts louder than thunder, while Champlain advanced to reconnoitre the fort. He found it very strong, composed, according to the usual fashion, of large trees fixed close together in a circle. He himself was immediately wounded in the

* Champlain, tome i. pp. 152, 153.

ear and neck by an arrow pointed with stone, yet not so as to disable him from acting. At the discharge of fire-arms the Iroquois, who seem to have been a different party from those formerly encountered, felt the same astonishment and dismay. Covered by their intrenchments, however, they continued to pour forth clouds of darts, and Champlain, whose ammunition began to fail, urged the savages to exert themselves in forcing a way into the barricade. He made them fasten ropes round the trunks of single trees, and apply all their strength to drag them out, undertaking meantime to protect them with his fire. Fortunately, at this moment, a party of French traders, unconnected with our leader, being seized with martial ardour, came to join him; and he thought it fair "that they should have their share in the diversion." Under their cover, the Algonquins pulled so stoutly, that a sufficient opening was soon made, and though the stumps still stood six feet high, the allies leaped in, and the enemy were completely routed, most of them being killed or drowned, and fifteen taken. Of the assailants three fell in the action, and fifty were wounded. Instead of carrying off the heads of the slain, they "flayed them," taking the scalps as their trophy. Champlain asked and obtained one of the captives, whom he saved from the dreadful tortures which were inflicted on most of the others, one by one at different stages; the rest being carefully reserved for their wives and daughters, who took peculiar delight in these scenes of savage vengeance, and were even ingenious in devising new and exquisite torments. His prisoner, not being very carefully guarded, made his escape. The Frenchman, before taking leave of his allies, prevailed on them to allow one of his people to remain with them and learn their language, while he, at their request, took a native youth with him to Europe.*

In 1611 Champlain returned to America with his savage, and on the 28th May arrived at the place of ren-

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 11, 12.

dezvous appointed for another warlike expedition. Not finding the Indians, he employed his time in choosing a spot for a new settlement higher up the river than Quebec. After a careful survey he fixed upon ground in the vicinity of an eminence which he called Mont Royal; and his choice has been amply justified by the prosperity to which this place, under the name of Montreal, has subsequently risen. He cleared a considerable space, sowed some grain, and enclosed it by an earthen wall. A distressing accident soon afterwards occurred. Savignon, the native who had accompanied him to France, with Louis, a European, and Outetoucos, an Indian leader, set out on a hunting excursion to an island in the Chambly. After excellent sport they were returning, when Savignon, who guided the canoe, proposed to make a circuit to avoid a dangerous rapid. The chief, however, insisted that it was quite safe, without even lightening the boat, and the other allowed himself to be persuaded; but as soon as they came within the action of the whirlpool, the bark was tossed up and down in the most violent manner. Louis was thrown into the water and drowned. The chief endeavoured to swim to land, but could not stem the eddies, and sunk. Savignon alone, clinging to the canoe whether above or below water, at length reached the shore. Champlain, on coming to the spot, could scarcely believe it possible that any person should have attempted to pass this formidable rapid.*

At length, on the 13th June, three weeks after the time appointed, a party of his savage friends appeared. They evinced much pleasure at meeting their countryman, who gave the most favourable report of the treatment which he had received in France; and after a liberal present of beaver skins, they unfolded the cause of this long delay. The prisoner who escaped the previous year had spread a report that the French, having now resolved to espouse the cause of the Iroquois,

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 13.

were coming in great force to destroy altogether the Algonquin nation. Champlain bitterly complained of their having listened to such a rumour, which all his actions belied. They protested that it had never gained credence with them, but only with those of their tribe who had no opportunity of knowing the foreigners. However, having received solemn protestations of friendship, they declared their determination of adhering to their alliance, and aiding to the utmost of their power his projects of penetrating into the interior. They gave him very extensive information respecting the continent, their acquaintance with which was found to reach southward as far as the Gulf of Mexico. They agreed to his proposal of returning with forty or fifty of his people to prosecute discoveries, and even form settlements in the country. The warlike designs, for some reason not explained, appear to have been dropped for the present; but they requested that a French youth should accompany them and make observations upon their territory and tribe. They asked their visiter to use his influence in order to dissuade one of their bravest warriors, who had been three times made prisoner by the Iroquois and always escaped, to relinquish the purpose he had now formed of setting out with only nine companions to attack the enemy and avenge his former wrongs. Attempts were made to divert him from so rash a purpose; but, exhibiting his fingers partly cut off and his whole body covered with wounds, he declared that it was impossible to live unless he obtained revenge.*

Champlain again returned to France with the view of making arrangements for those more extensive operations which he contemplated and had recommended to his Indian allies. The negotiation was attended with difficulty. De Monts, who had been appointed governor of Saintonge, was no longer inclined to take the lead, and excused himself from going to court, on account of the

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iii. ch. 14.

urgency of his own affairs. He committed the whole to his former agent, advising him to seek some powerful protector, whose authority might overcome the opposition to his plans. Our adventurer was so fortunate as almost immediately to gain the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant-general of New France, and who, by a formal agreement, delegated to him all the functions of that high office. The count died soon after; but a still more influential friend was found in the Prince of Condé, who succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased, and made them over in a manner equally ample. His commission, including a monopoly of the trade, excited loud complaints among the merchants; but our author endeavoured to remove the principal objection by allowing as many of them to embark in the traffic as chose to accompany him. There came accordingly three from Normandy, one from Rochelle, and one from St Malo. These were allowed free trade, burdened only with the condition of contributing six men each to assist in his projects of discovery, and a twentieth of their profits to defray the expenses of settlement.*

In the beginning of March 1613,† this expedition sailed from Honfleur, and on 7th May arrived at Quebec. Champlain however had an aim which diverted him from his grand schemes of war and discovery in the west. Among the objects of adventure in that age, a favourite one was a north-west passage to China; hence every thing connected with the report of a sea beyond Canada inspired the greatest hopes. There was a Frenchman named Nicolas de Vignau, who had accompanied our traveller in former expeditions, and spent a winter among the savages. This person reported that the river of the Algonquins (the Ottawa) issued from a lake which was connected with the North Sea; that he had visited its

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iv. ch. 5.

† Champlain's dates are jumbled in the most confused manner; but on comparing page 312 with pages 245 and 246, it will be evident that the one here given is correct, though the narrative of his voyage precedes the account of his departure.

shores, and had there witnessed the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, eighty in number, had reached the land, where they had all been killed and scalped by the inhabitants, except one boy, whom they would have been happy to present to him, along with the trophies of their victory. Wishing to assure himself as to this story, the navigator caused the man to sign his declaration before two notaries, warning him, if it were false, that he was putting a rope round his own neck. Finding the fellow persevere, and learning that some English vessels had really been wrecked in 1612 on the coast of Labrador, his doubts were removed, and he determined to devote a season to the prosecution of this grand object.

With this view he did not stop at Quebec, but setting sail on the 13th May, arrived on the 21st at the fall of St Louis. Here, with only two canoes, containing four of his countrymen and one native, he began his voyage up the river. The hardships and difficulties were very severe. He encountered a succession of cataracts and rapids, which it was necessary to avoid by carrying the skiffs and stores overland. Sometimes, the woods being too dense to admit of this, it became requisite to drag them through the foaming current, not without danger of being themselves ingulfed. If they had lost their boats, they could neither have proceeded back nor forward, unless by the mere accident of meeting with friendly Indians. There was reason, besides, to dread an attack from some wandering bands of Iroquois, who, if victorious, would have doubtless treated the French as they treated their Algonquin captives. As the difficulties of navigation increased, they were obliged to leave their corn behind, and trust entirely to the produce of their guns and nets, which afforded a precarious and sometimes very scanty supply. Nicolas, to our author's surprise, was forward in recommending parts of the river which the natives declared to be highly dangerous. At length the party reached the abode of Tessouat, a friendly chief, whose country was only eight days' sail from that

of the Nebicerini (Nipissings), on whose borders the shipwreck was said to have occurred. The people received our adventurer courteously, and agreed to his request of admission to a solemn council. It was preceded by an entertainment of boiled maize, with meat and fish; after which the young men went out, and the old took their pipes and smoked for half an hour in silence. Champlain being then asked his object in soliciting the interview, after many courteous professions requested four canoes to escort him into the country of the Nipissings, which he earnestly desired to visit. To this the Indians demurred, stating that the route was very difficult, and that they were bad men and sorcerers, who had caused the death of many of their tribe; nevertheless, upon his earnest entreaty, they at length consented. After the meeting had broken up, however, the French chief learned that there was a great indisposition to fulfil the engagement, and that no one could be found who was willing to accompany him. He therefore again called them together; reproached them with their meditated breach of faith; and in refutation of their assertions of danger as arising from the people, referred to the fact of Nicolas having spent some time among them without any annoyance. Hereupon De Vignau was called on to say if he had ever made such a journey; and when, after long hesitation, he answered in the affirmative, they raised loud and fierce cries, declaring that he was speaking falsely, having never passed beyond their country, where he had gone to bed with them every evening and risen every morning; and that he ought to be tortured to death for having so grossly deceived his chief. Champlain, seeing his follower a good deal confused, took him aside, and adjured him to state the truth. The fellow, however, having recovered his confidence, renewed his former averments, and gave the fullest assurance, that if canoes could be procured they would erelong reach the spot. The commander, unable to believe that any individual could persevere in such audacious falsehoods, went back to the savages, re-

ferred to the interior sea, the English shipwreck, the eighty scalps, and the young boy in possession of the natives. Hereupon they shouted louder than ever, proclaiming his deceit to be now quite palpable. They began to put close interrogatories, to which he returned only unsatisfactory replies. Champlain, extremely perplexed, called him again to a private interview, and told him that every thing already past should be forgiven; but that if, by persisting in false assertions, he should induce the expedition to go a step farther, he would most assuredly be hanged. The man then, after remaining silent for some time, fell on his knees and confessed that all he had said, and which had induced his master to undertake so long and painful a journey, was a complete untruth. The motives of this crime had been the eclat derived from the supposed discovery, and the being brought out to New France in a conspicuous situation. He had trusted that the obstacles would be such as, at some earlier point, to lead his superior to renounce the attempt; and with this view, in passing the falls he had urged him to prefer the most dangerous channels. Champlain was obliged to inform the Indians that they were right, and himself egregiously deceived. They earnestly entreated him to place the liar in their hands, who they would take effectual care should never again deceive him. But, though much and justly enraged, he resolved honourably to redeem his pledge. He had the vexation, however, to reflect, that not only had he encountered in vain a long series of labours and fatigues, but that the whole season had been spent without any effort to promote other objects which he had much at heart. He had now no alternative but to commence his voyage down the Ottawa, and on his way he was joined by a considerable number of savage allies, who rendezvoused at the fall of St Louis. They agreed, though with difficulty, to allow two young Frenchmen to accompany them, with the view of obtaining a knowledge of the country. Champlain left also De Vignau, as a punishment for his falsehood; who

promised to undertake further discoveries, and to reach, if possible, the North Sea; but none of the natives would have any intercourse with him. Our author then sailed to Tadoussac, and thence to St Malo, where he arrived on the 26th August 1614.*

Affairs in France continued favourable to the colony. The Prince of Condé being still powerful at court, no difficulty was found in equipping an expedition from Rouen and St Malo, though it gave some discontent to the merchants of Rochelle, who were excluded on account of their not having come in time. They were accompanied by four Fathers Recollets, whose benevolence led them to attempt the conversion of the Indians.†

Champlain, with this new company, arrived on the 25th, May 1615 at Tadoussac, whence he immediately pushed up to Quebec, and thence to the place of rendezvous at the fall of St Louis. He found his old allies there full of projects of war against the Iroquois, whom they proposed now to assail among the lakes to the westward; and they promised to muster for this attack no fewer than 2500 fighting men. The Frenchman, never slow to embark in such enterprises, now laid down a plan of operations, at which they expressed the utmost satisfaction. He accompanied them in a long route, first up the Ottawa, then, partly carrying the canoes overland partly launching them on small pieces of water, till they came to Lake Nipissing, northward from that of Huron. The country through which he passed is described as in many places broken and rocky, though not mountainous, and completely uncultivated; yet there was a profusion of berries and delicate small fruits, which the natives preserved for winter use. The Nipissings, about 700 or 800 in number, who inhabited the shores of this lake, received the party well. After remaining two days, they made their way by land and water to the coast of the great lake Attigonantan, which appeared a complete fresh-water sea, 300 leagues in

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iv. ch. 1, 2, 3. † Ibid. tome i. p. 313-317.

length by 50 in breadth. It is evidently the northern part of Lake Huron, apparently separated into a distinct body of water by the continuous chain of islands which extend parallel to this shore.* After coasting it for about forty-five leagues, they turned a point which forms its extremity, and struck into the interior, with the view of reaching Cahiague, the appointed rendezvous of their savage friends. This country was found much superior to that hitherto passed, being well cultivated, and abounding in Indian corn and fruits. At the place just mentioned, a large body were found collected, who gave them a joyful welcome, stating their expectation of five hundred more, who also considered the Iroquois as enemies. While their forces were mustering, several days were spent in dancing and festivity, the usual prelude to their bloody expeditions. They then set out and passed several small lakes, one of which led to the great one, which they now named Entouhonorons (Huron). On the way they employed themselves in several hunting parties. Upon one occasion they made a large circle, enclosing the whole of a promontory that stretched into the lake; after which, by loud cries and volleys of arrows, they drove all the animals to the extreme point, where they were either taken or threw themselves into the water. To meet this last case, a range of canoes were drawn up, and the quadrupeds fell beneath the weapons darted from either side. Having met a detachment returning with a band of prisoners, our adventurer was shocked to see them begin the horrid work of torment upon a female, and reproached the leader with a cruelty so unworthy of a genuine warrior. The Indian replied, that it was no more than the enemy did to his countrywomen; but in courtesy to his ally he would desist, reaining, however, his full right to torture the men.

After quitting the Huron Lake, they struck into the interior, and came to a smaller expanse of water finely diversified by islands, which seems to be Lake George. On

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iv. ch. 6.

its banks they descried the Iroquois fort, which, in expectation of this attack, had been rendered peculiarly strong. It was defended by four successive palisades of trees twined together, and with strong parapets at top; and it enclosed a pond whence streams were led to the different quarters, with the view of extinguishing fire. They had advanced, and were skirmishing with success against their assailants; but when the firearms began to play, and they heard the balls whizzing about their ears, they hastily retreated within the rampart. Thence, however, they poured forth showers of arrows and stones, which induced the allies, in spite of the exhortations and reproaches of Champlain, to withdraw beyond their reach. He now, however, endeavoured to train them to the use of European machinery, teaching them to construct with wood an elevated enclosure of planks, called a cavalier, which should command the enemy's entrenchment. The discharge from this platform was meant to drive them from the parapet, and afford to the assailants an opportunity of setting fire to the defences. The savages showed the utmost activity in constructing this work, which they finished in four hours, and 200 of the strongest moved it forward close to the palisade. The shot from it drove the Iroquois into the interior of their stronghold, whence they still continued to return missiles of various kinds. The Indians might now, with the greatest ease, have set the fort in a blaze; but Champlain soon found that he had to do with men who would make war only as they were inclined and accustomed. Instead of following his directions, they preferred to pour out execrations upon the enemy, and shoot arrows against the strong wooden defences. At length they began to throw pieces of burning timber, but carelessly, and with little effect. Their European ally called out to them in what manner to proceed; but the field was filled with such clamour and confusion, that his voice was lost amid the tumult. The Iroquois meantime drew water from their reservoir so copiously, that streams flowed through every part of the fortress, and

the slight fires were speedily quenched. Taking advantage of the disorder in the adverse ranks, they made arrows descend like hail, which pierced two chiefs and a number of their followers. Champlain himself was twice wounded in the leg. His allies hereupon felt a strong inclination to retire, and, as usual, they followed their own views, without any regard to his exhortations. They justified themselves by alleging the absence of the 500 auxiliaries, promising, on their arrival, to renew the assault. Although, therefore, for two days a strong wind blew most favourably for another attempt, nothing could induce them to advance. Several petty attacks were made, but with so little success, that the French were always obliged to come to the rescue; while the enemy bitterly taunted the Algonquins as unable to cope with them in a fair field, and obliged to seek the odious aid of this strange and unknown race.

As the reinforcement did not appear, the savages determined to abandon the enterprise altogether, and return homeward. The retreat was conducted with a degree of skill and judgment which had not appeared in any of their offensive operations. They placed the wounded and aged in the centre, while armed warriors guarded the front, rear, and flanks. The Iroquois followed a short way, but soon gave up the pursuit. If, however, the safety of the disabled was well provided for, their comfort was very little considered. Their bodies were bent into a circular form, bound with cords, and thrown into a basket, where they lay like infants in swaddling-clothes, unable to stir hand or foot. Champlain feelingly describes the agonies he endured while carried twenty-five or thirty leagues in this position, on being relieved from which he felt as if he had come out of a dungeon.

He now claimed the promise to convey him home after his campaign. First, however, guides were wanting, then a canoe; and he soon found that they were determined to detain him and his companions, with a view to their defence in case of attack, or to aid them in

future expeditions. He was very ill provided for wintering in so desolate a region; but a chief, Darontal, gave him his hovel, built in the best Indian style, and he found considerable amusement in their hunting excursions. On one occasion they constructed a wooden enclosure, of a triangular form, each side nearly a mile long, with a narrow opening at the point, into which, by loud cries, and imitating the howling of wolves, they contrived to drive all the deer in the vicinity. The aperture being then shut, the animals became an easy prey.*

On the 20th May of the following year Champlain set out, and found himself in the end of June at the Sault St Louis. Having remained there a short time, he repaired to Tadoussac, whence he sailed, and arrived at Honfleur on the 10th September 1616.†

The interests of the colony were now in considerable jeopardy. The Prince of Condé, in consequence of the share taken by him in the disturbances during the minority of Louis XIII., was not only in disgrace, but under confinement. The Marshal de Themines, however, was prevailed upon to undertake the duties of the situation, on condition of sharing its emoluments. Unfortunately he was soon involved in controversy with the merchants, and after many and tedious transactions, during two years and a half, the Duke de Montmorency was induced to treat with Condé for his office of viceroy, and obtained it upon the payment of 11,000 crowns. Champlain considered this arrangement as every way eligible, the duke being better qualified for such functions, and, from his situation of High Admiral, possessing the best means of forwarding the object. A body of associated merchants had already, in January 1619, agreed to send out a larger colony than any preceding one, of eighty persons, including three friars, with the necessary supply of furniture, arms, seed-corn, and domestic animals. Their departure was, however, delayed

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iv. ch. 7. † Ibid. tome i. p. 396-398.

a whole year by the disputes between Rochelle and other commercial cities, and between the Protestants and the Catholics. Attempts were also made to degrade Champlain from the high situation in which he had been placed; but by virtue of commissions both from Montmorency and the king, he succeeded in crushing this opposition.*

In May 1620 he set sail with his new equipment, and after a very tedious voyage, anchored on the 7th July near the port of Tadoussac. He found that, during his long absence, the settlements had been considerably neglected, especially at Trois Rivières, which he enlarged and defended by a fort, placed on a mountain that commanded the passage of the river. After all that had been done for the colony, there remained, when winter arrived, not more than sixty inhabitants, including women, children, and clergy, and ten of the number were employed in establishing a religious seminary.†

The following year, as soon as the season permitted, a vessel was sent out with letters from Montmorency and his secretary, announcing a change which greatly surprised and by no means delighted our commander. The association of merchants who had fitted out the last expedition were deprived of all their privileges by the duke, who had intrusted the care of the colony to the Sieurs De Caen, uncle and nephew, one a merchant and the other a mariner, the latter of whom was to visit it personally in the course of the summer. The local governor, who saw many causes of complaint against the merchants, had no ground on which he could object to this arrangement; yet he was thereby virtually divested of his command, and subjected to the control of another, armed with formidable powers.‡

About the middle of July he received notice that De Caen had arrived at Tadoussac, and was desirous of an interview. After some delay, he set out, and met him on the 3d August. He was received with the ut-

* Champlain, tome i. liv. iv. ch. 4. † Ibid. tome ii. liv. i. ch. 1.
‡ Ibid. tome ii. liv. i. ch. 2.

most courtesy, but soon found the new superintendent disposed to act in a very violent and arbitrary manner. He claimed the right of seizing all the vessels belonging to the associated merchants, which might have come out for the purpose of traffic; and he actually took that of Du Pont, their favourite agent, and an intimate friend of our author. Champlain remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, but without any effect, as he possessed no power which could effectually check the violence of this new dictator. De Caen, however, left a supply of provisions, arms, and ammunition; though this last is said to have been both scanty and ill adapted to its object. In consequence of these arrangements, a great part of the population connected with the European traders took their departure, while the agent of Montmorency had brought only eighteen new settlers; so that the colony, instead of being augmented, was thereby reduced to forty-eight.*

Notwithstanding these vexatious occurrences, as soon as the governor had time to breathe, he turned his attention to discovery and settlement in the interior. He formed an intimate connexion with a Huron who had assumed the name of Mahigan Aticq (Wolf Stag), to express the union of ferocity and mildness which became the savage character. Through him intelligence was received of a proposal made to terminate the long and desolating war which had raged between his nation and that of the Iroquois. Champlain, on former occasions, when such an accommodation was mentioned, earnestly represented to them its great advantages; and he now expressed the utmost anxiety to forward it. Learning, therefore, that two individuals of the hostile people had arrived at Trois Rivières, he invited them to Quebec, and met them at a village of friendly Indians in that vicinity. On his arrival, Mahigan took his hand, kissed and locked his own into it, causing the two strangers to do the same to his companions. Thus,

* Champlain, tome ii. liv. i. ch. 4.

hand in hand they entered the chief cabin, where a number of the natives were seated, according to their respective ranks, and learned with satisfaction the good understanding that now prevailed. They then proceeded to the important operation of dancing, which was kept up a long time by the allies and the three visiters; then each of them kissed his hand, and put theirs into that of the governor. The Hurons now danced in a body, men, women, and children, when harmony was considered as completely established. At this stage the Iroquois explained their object, which Champlain readily engaged to promote. They represented this proposal for amity as proceeding entirely from themselves, and that they came not as authorized envoys; though this, we suspect, was rather to avoid prematurely committing the nation. The Hurons, however, treated them with friendship, and, in concurrence with their French ally, determined upon sending four of their number to complete, if possible, the negotiation opened under such favourable auspices.* On arriving at the headquarters of the Iroquois, they met a very kind reception, and the treaty was nearly concluded, when it was almost broken off by an event strikingly characteristic of this fierce independent race. Even before they set out, a savage, whom the French named Simon, declared his determination to accompany them, but in a hostile character, singly to wage war against this hated enemy; and such, in this rude tribe, was the total want of any public authority, that they could use nothing beyond impotent remonstrances to deter him. They had recourse to their ally, who employed warm representations, and even threats, to make the barbarian desist. But though the latter admitted it to be very wicked in him, he declared that he was perfectly miserable, and could have no peace, till he had cut off the head of an enemy. After this assurance all argument was vain, the community not having any means of placing its members under the slightest

* Champlain, tome ii. liv. i. ch. 6.

restraint. He accompanied his countrymen, and shared in their good reception; but as they were returning home, he met one of the detested tribe and gratified his vengeance by despatching him. Such a deed, by any member of a civilized mission, must at once have terminated all negotiation; but the deputies having satisfied the Iroquois, who were no strangers to such sallies, that it was completely an individual act, lamented by the nation, they overlooked it, and sent six of their number to conclude the treaty.*

In the mean time the progress of the colony was still checked by dissensions in the mother country. A union, indeed, was formed between the old and new companies, which enabled them to proceed for some time with greater vigour. But though united, they were not of one mind; contentions were soon kindled, which made Montmorency complain, that he had more trouble with this concern than with his most important affairs; so that he was well pleased, for a moderate consideration, to transfer it to the Duke de Ventadour. The new viceroy, however, soon found himself involved in serious troubles. He professed, in a manner peculiarly decided, that his main object was to diffuse the Catholic religion throughout the New World; but it so happened that the Protestants were the only French citizens who possessed the nautical skill to conduct such an expedition, or were willing to brave its dangers. In despite of the court, therefore, they formed the majority of every crew; and though the most illiberal restrictions were laid upon their worship, their numbers enabled them to treat these with little ceremony. Even De Caen professed this faith; and the new viceroy had the affliction to learn that he had not only allowed Protestant prayers to be publicly offered up, but even desired the Romanists to attend them. He was restless, therefore, till an arrangement could be made, by which a captain of sound belief should be appointed to command the vessels. He could not, how-

* Champlain, tome ii. p. 79-89.

ever, escape the fatal necessity of employing a crew most of whom were accounted heretical; but in return, he directed that the means of exercising their religion should be confined within the narrowest possible limits. In particular, he strictly enjoined that they should not sing psalms in the St Lawrence; but the mariners, who had freely performed this act of worship in the open sea, loudly exclaimed against such a capricious restriction; and though the express orders of the duke could not be departed from, a compromise was made, allowing them greater latitude in other parts of their ritual. Our author uniformly expresses a pious horror touching the Reformers, and the utmost reluctance to grant them the slightest favour; but oddly excuses himself by saying: —"They were almost two-thirds Huguenots; so of a bad debt, one must take what payment he can get."*

Champlain was continued in all his powers by the Duke de Ventadour, who kept him a considerable time near his person, so that two years and a half had elapsed before his return to Canada. He found the colony in the same unsatisfactory state as after his former absence; the fort, for completing which all the materials and full instructions had been left, was exactly in the same condition as when he departed. The settlement at Quebec consisted still of no more than fifty-five persons, of whom twenty-four only were fit for labour.† He learned, moreover, that the Indian affairs were by no means in a good state. The Iroquois, being on their way to attack a tribe called the Wolves, had killed a party who opposed their progress, among whom were five of another nation. The latter forthwith sent messengers, bearing as gifts collars of wampum, to the chiefs of the French allies, and entreating their aid in a war of revenge. It was easy to kindle a hostile spirit among these fierce clans, and a strong party was soon formed in favour of warlike measures. The more prudent anxiously recommended a

* Champlain, tome ii. pp. 41, 94, 103, 104, 133.
† Ibid. tome ii. pp. 137, 138.

pacific policy, and Mahigan Atieq hastened to Quebec, to apprize Champlain of what was passing. Deeply regretting these events, he reiterated all his arguments for the preservation of the blessings enjoyed under the present tranquil system. As it was not in his power to go in person, he sent Boullé, his brother-in-law, and afterwards one of his people, named Emery, to impress these views upon the savage assembly. They were both well received, and their advice approved by the great body of the nation; but the lawless system which still prevailed in the tribe made it impossible to prevent nine or ten hot-headed youths from making an unauthorized inroad into the Iroquois territory. This band having reached Lake Champlain, surprised a canoe with three individuals, two of whom they seized and brought home in triumph. The preparations for the work of torture were already going on, when Emery hastened to convey the intelligence to Champlain, who immediately repaired to the spot. The sight of the captives, fine young men, and of the tortures preparing for them, quickened his ardour in the cause of peace and humanity. He strongly urged that, instead of such barbarous treatment, they should be sent home unhurt, with presents to compensate for this wanton attack. After due deliberation, this advice was so far adopted that one individual was sent back, with two allies, one of them a chief, and Magnan, a Frenchman. This expedition, sent with so laudable an intention, had the most tragical issue. An Algonquin who wished to foment war, contrived to rouse the jealousy of the Iroquois, by persuading them that this mission, though professing friendship, was devised with the most treacherous intent. Misled by these views, the latter prepared to take cool and deliberate revenge. When the strangers arrived, they found the fire kindled, the cauldron boiling, and being courteously received, were invited to sit down. The Iroquois then asked the chief if, after so long a journey, he did not feel hungry. As he replied in the affirmative they rushed upon him, and began to cut slices from his

arms, and throw them into the pot; soon after, they presented them to him half cooked. They then cut pieces from other parts of his body, and continued their torture till he died in lingering agonies. The Frenchman was tormented to death in the usual manner. Another Indian, more fortunate, while attempting to escape, was shot dead on the spot; a fourth was made prisoner. When news reached the allies of this dreadful tragedy, the war-cry was immediately sounded, and the remaining captive was put to death with every refinement of cruelty.* Champlain himself, though deeply afflicted by the intelligence, saw no longer any possibility of averting hostilities; he felt that, as a countryman had been deprived of life, the power of the nation would be held in contempt if no resentment were shown at so dreadful an outrage. Indeed he experienced no little trouble, even among the friendly tribes, who immediately surrounded him. In several cases, Europeans were murdered in an atrocious manner, and under circumstances which rendered it impossible to accept as an explanation the assurance that parties of Iroquois had penetrated to the spot. After overlooking these as much as possible, a fresh instance having occurred, he demanded that an individual, to whom strong suspicion attached, should be put into his hands. He detained him fourteen months; but being unable to procure positive evidence, and pressed by other circumstances now to be related, he set him at liberty.

The dignity of the French required that vigorous measures should have been taken to avenge so great a wrong; but their attention was soon called to other quarters. Hostilities having broken out with England, two of their subjects, David and Louis Kertk, Calvinist refugees, entered the service of that country, where they were known under the name of Kirk. They equipped a squadron, which sailed to the mouth of the St Lawrence, captured several vessels, and intercepted the

* Champlain, tome ii. pp. 146, 211-214.

communication between the mother-country and the colony. The settlers, who had not yet sufficiently extended cultivation to supply themselves with provisions, were thus reduced to the greatest distress. At length, in July 1629, Sir David Kirk summoned Quebec. As, in addition to famine, the ammunition was nearly exhausted, the governor considered himself as having no choice but to surrender. The invader, who still retained many of the feelings of his birth, promised honourable conditions, and every species of good treatment to his countrymen. They were allowed to depart with their arms, clothes, and baggage. The request of a ship to convey them directly home could not be complied with; but they were promised a commodious passage by way of England. Champlain was desirous to take with him two little native girls, whom he had carefully educated, and although at first objected to, this was granted on a fuller explanation. The place being surrendered, Kirk and the English showed to the garrison every species of courtesy; though Baillif, a renegade Frenchman, to whom he intrusted the keys of the magazine, seized a great quantity of furs, besides various articles of church property, and subjected his countrymen to all the ill treatment in his power.

Champlain, who arrived at Dover on the 27th October, proceeded thence to London, for the purpose of conferring with the French ambassador. The differences between the two nations were now in a train of adjustment; but a large party in the Gallic cabinet set too little value on the settlement to think its restoration worth insisting upon. Champlain strongly deprecated this view of the subject; his counsels at length prevailed at the court of Louis XIII.; and when the English found the matter seriously pressed, they consented without much difficulty. The final treaty, however, was not signed till the 29th March 1632.

The indifference with which both countries viewed this colony, though bearing the pompous title of New France, was not ill justified by its actual condition. A fort

with some houses and barracks at Quebec; a few huts for fishing and trade at Tadoussac, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, formed nearly all that answered to that imposing name.* But even prior to its late disaster, arrangements had been made with a view to rescue it from this depressed state. Under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, whose administration was marked by a bold and enterprising character, an association was formed of a hundred distinguished individuals, who undertook that, by the year 1643, they would raise the population to 6000. They engaged to maintain the emigrants for three years, bestowing upon them lands and seed-corn. They were also to send a suitable number of clergymen, subsisting them for fifteen years, and at the end of that period to assign them glebes sufficient for their support.† Their operations were suspended by the disastrous events just narrated; but when the above treaty restored Canada to the French, their rights were fully confirmed, and they made no hesitation in reinvesting Champlain with his former jurisdiction. The year 1633 had arrived, however, before an expedition was ready to sail, which carried with it more property than was supposed at the time to exist in the colony. The governor found most of those whom he had left; but their prosperity must have been greatly checked by the bigoted spirit which induced the court to prohibit altogether the exercise of the reformed religion, by whose professors chiefly the settlement had been supported. Some small compensation was afforded, by the institution of religious establishments embracing objects of general education and instruction. A son of the Marquis de Gamache, whose fervour had impelled him to join the order of Jesuits, conceived the ambition of founding a college at Quebec, and was enabled by his friends to offer 6000 gold crowns for this purpose. His proposal was readily accepted, and, though

* Heriot, History of Canada, 8vo, London, 1804 (translated from Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France), p. 49.

† Charlevoix in Heriot, pp. 37, 38.

delayed by the misfortunes of the colony, was carried into effect in 1635. Four years later, under the auspices of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, a party of Ursuline nuns were sent out, and a seminary established by them at Quebec. But the religious foundation from which the greatest advantages were derived was that projected by the Abbé Olivier, who had originated the order of St Sulpice, and proposed that a seminary, bearing its name and composed of its members, should be formed in New France. The king listened favourably to this suggestion, and, with the view of realizing it, made a grant of the whole island of Montreal. A party was formed, the Sieur Maisonneuve was placed at its head, and invested with the government. That important place, where hitherto there had been only a few detached huts, assumed now the aspect of a regular settlement, and rose, by gradual steps, until it attained a great degree of prosperity.*

But, in the mean time, the rising colony was destined to encounter severe disasters. The death of Champlain, early in 1636, was a severe blow. Though some parts of his early policy were very questionable, his devotion to the cause, his energy and high reputation, were generally viewed as the chief bond by which the whole undertaking had been held together. The company, after their first great effort, soon relaxed, and allowed the settlement to relapse into a languishing state. They had sent indeed a considerable number of monks and nuns; but of troops and stores, which were more urgently wanted, the supply was very scanty. The situation of M. de Montmagny, the new governor, was rendered more critical by the state of the Indian nations. We have already seen the renewal of the war with the Iroquois; and as the weakness of the French had rendered it impossible for them to afford any aid to their native allies, that warlike confederacy had advanced by rapid steps to a supremacy of power. They had completely humbled the Algonquins, who formerly held the fore-

* Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 49-55.

most place in the savage world; they closely pressed the Hurons, scarcely allowing their canoes to pass up and down the river; and they now threatened in great force the settlement of Trois Rivières. In this exigency, Montmagny's resources enabled him only to carry on a defensive warfare, which he appears to have done with vigour, erecting a fort at the mouth of the river Sorel, by which the Iroquois chiefly made their descents. That fierce people, whether tired of so long a contest or awed by the renewed power displayed by the French, began to make proposals for a solid peace; and though the governor had good reason to doubt their sincerity and dread some sinister object, his situation left no choice but to receive them with apparent cordiality. He therefore repaired to Trois Rivières to meet their deputies, while the chiefs of the tribes in alliance with him came also to the interview. The envoys of the Five Nations then produced seventeen belts, which they had arranged along a cord fastened between two stakes. Their orator came forward and addressed the governor-general by the title of Ononthio, which, in their language, signifies Great Mountain; and though it was in reference to his name of Montmagny, they continued ever after to apply this term to the French viceroy. They often added the respectful appellation of father. The speaker declared the sincerity of their intentions, and their wish "to forget their songs of war, and to resume the voice of cheerfulness." He then proceeded to the exposition of the belts, which occupied three hours, each explanation being accompanied with appropriate gestures, which alone would have been almost sufficient to unfold his meaning. Thus, having occasion to refer to the difficulties of canoe-navigation, he performed all the movements necessary in guiding one through the rapids, and, representing himself as striking against a rock, used signs expressive of the pain caused by such an accident. These belts variously expressed the calming of the spirit of war, the opening of the paths, the mutual visits to be paid, the feasts to be given, the restitution

of the captives, and other friendly proceedings. The governor, in conformity to Indian etiquette, delayed his answer for two days, when, at another general meeting, he bestowed as many presents as he had received belts, and through an interpreter expressed the most pacific sentiments. Piskaret, a great Algonquin chief, then said,—"Behold a stone, which I place on the sepulchre of those who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every desire of avenging their death may be laid aside." Three discharges of cannon were considered as sealing the treaty. It was for some time faithfully observed, and unwonted tranquillity reigned throughout this savage region. The Iroquois, the Algonquins, and Hurons forgot their deadly feuds, and mingled in the chase as if they had been one nation.*

M. de Montmagny, like his predecessor, appears to have commanded the general respect of the native inhabitants. Unluckily, in consequence of an attempt by De Poinci, who commanded in the West Indies, to render himself independent, the court adopted the jealous policy of continuing no governor in power longer than three years. This system was peculiarly ill suited to a settlement like that of Canada, where intimate local knowledge, and a peculiar mixture of firmness and address, were necessary to deal with tumultuary tribes whom they had not strength to subdue. Montmagny was replaced by Ailleboust, said to have been a man of probity, but scarcely possessing the energy required in so difficult a situation. During his government the Iroquois formed the resolution of renewing the war in all its fury. No ground is stated; but the Europeans and their allies in consequence of it became exposed to a series of dreadful calamities.

The missionaries had not merely formed establishments at Quebec and Montreal, but had also penetrated into the territory of the savages. In this task they cer-

* Charlevoix in Heriot, p. 51-63.

tainly gave full proof of sincerity, renouncing all the comforts of civilized life, and exposing themselves to every species of hardship and danger. They have been accused of unduly combining political with religious objects. They did certainly employ their influence for the furtherance of French power; since they induced a number even of the Iroquois not only to quit the country to which they were so strongly attached and settle within the limits of the colony, but even to fight against their own relations. But, at the same time, they undoubtedly reclaimed their votaries from many savage habits, and trained them to some degree of order and industry. The Hurons were found the most docile and susceptible of improvement, and their great numbers afforded a wide field of exertion. Upwards of three thousand of them are recorded to have been baptized at one time; and though it was easier to make converts than to retain them, yet a considerable change is said to have appeared in the aspect of this wild region, and very favourable prospects to have been opened.* The main object was to unite them in villages, of which the chief was Sillery, or St Joseph and St Mary, with several smaller dependent ones.

In 1648 the Iroquois, as already stated, determined to renew the war; a resolution adopted by them, if we may believe the annals of the colony, without any ground, or even pretext. The settlement, however, was now destined to experience the terrible effects of their rapid movements; that they could advance like foxes, and attack like lions; and that their arrival and triumphant return were usually announced at the same moment.† In the village of Sillery, where four hundred families were settled in the most profound peace, and the missionary was celebrating the most solemn ordinances of religion, the cry was suddenly raised, "We are murdered!" An indiscriminate mas-

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1642, 1643, p. 32; an 1647, p. 19; ans 1649, 1650, p. 92.

† Missions, ans 1659, 1660, p. 17.

sacre had begun, without distinction of sex or age. In vain did women flee into the depth of the forest with infants in their arms, whose feeble cries betrayed themselves and their mothers. Finally, the assailants fell upon the priest, and, after each successively had struck a blow, threw him into the flames.*

Notwithstanding this dreadful example, the Iroquois having disappeared for six months, the villages relapsed into their former security. This tranquillity, however, was again disturbed in 1649 by a party of the same people, amounting to a thousand, who made an attack upon the mission of St Ignace. Some resistance was offered, and ten assailants fell; but ultimately all the inhabitants, except three, were killed or carried off. St Louis was next attacked, and made a brave defence, which, though it was finally stormed, enabled many of the women and children to escape. The missionaries could have saved themselves; but, like others of their brethren, attaching a high importance to the administration of the sacrament to the dying, they sacrificed their lives to the performance of this sacred rite. They were not killed on the spot, but "reserved for greater crowns," having to pass through a dreadful series of torture and mutilation.†

Deep and universal dismay now spread among the Huron people. Their country, lately so peaceable and flourishing, was become a land of horror and of blood, a sepulchre of the dead, and no hope appeared to the survivors. The whole nation, with one consent, broke up and fled for refuge in every direction. A few reluctantly offered to unite with their conquerors, who, according to their usual policy, readily accepted them. The greater number sought an asylum among the nations of the Cat, the Ottawa, and others still more remote. The missionaries were greatly at a loss how to proceed with the remnant of their converts, now nearly reduced to the single vil-

* Missions, ans 1648, 1649, pp. 12, 13.

† Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1647, 1649, pp. 12, 34-39, c. iv.

lage of St Mary. The island of Manitoulin, in Lake Huron, was proposed; but though they wanted the means or courage to defend their country, they felt a deep reluctance to remove to such a distance from it. They preferred the insular situation of St Joseph, in Lake Ontario, which, it was hoped, would secure them against this dreaded foe. They enjoyed for some time an unwonted tranquillity, but were obliged, by the difficulty of subsistence, to form stations on the opposite coast, at the distance of six or eight leagues. It was hoped, that on any alarm the inhabitants might thence flee to the island for safety; but the Iroquois, on learning the existence of these posts, came upon them successively, with such suddenness and fatal precision, that it seemed as if a destroying angel had guided their steps. One after the other was surprised and destroyed, till of many hundreds only a single individual escaped.

The unhappy remnant of the Huron nation, now reduced to 300, renounced every hope of remaining in their native seats. One of their chiefs addressed the missionary, representing the extremity to which they were reduced, being ghosts rather than men, and hoping to preserve their wretched existence only by fleeing into the depth of the forests, or to some distant country. If he chose to remain where he was, he could only have trees and rocks to instruct. This was the preface to a solicitation that he should convey them to Quebec, and place them under the immediate protection of the French settlement. After serious consideration, this was deemed the most eligible course, and arrangements were immediately made for its execution. They were then led through the wide regions lately peopled by their countrymen, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, but which now presented a scene of unbroken silence and desolation. The sombre aspect of the vast forest was only interrupted by the traces of havock and slaughter at every spot formerly inhabited, attesting the general destruction of the Huron name. Overwhelmed with distress, they reached Quebec, where they experienced

a mortifying contrast to the reception which they would have found among any neighbouring tribe of savages. There they would have had every want supplied, and been welcomed as countrymen and equals. Here they were viewed only as objects of charity; and though in this light considerable exertions were made, the religious houses finding room for a hundred of the most destitute, yet the remainder were in danger of perishing from cold and hunger, till a station could be formed for them, which, from their former chief settlement, was named Sillery.*

As the Iroquois now lorded it completely over Canada, the French were virtually blockaded in the three forts of Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, from under the very cannon of which they and their allies were sometimes carried off; and, almost every autumn, bands of hostile invaders swept away the limited harvests raised in the immediate vicinity of these places. Yet in 1653 this fierce nation began, of their own accord, to make overtures of peace; and it was found with surprise that the missionaries had powerfully contributed to this resolution. They had been regarded at first with extreme antipathy, being probably considered as enemies of their race, seeking to subvert the native deities and customs. In the course of the late inroads, however, a considerable number had been carried off, and after suffering protracted torture and partial mutilation, had been spared and adopted. Then their meek deportment, their solemn ceremonies, and the fervour with which "they raised to God hands without fingers," made a strong impression on the savage breast. Hence, at different times, deputies from the ruling horde said in their figurative language that they came to wipe away the blood which had reddened the mountains, the lakes, and the rivers, to bring back the sun, which had hid his face during the late dreadful scenes of warfare. They solicited, at the same time, "black-robes,"

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1649, 1650, pp. 83-88, 100.

as they termed the missionaries, to teach them the Christian doctrine. This invitation to go into the midst of ferocious enemies, into a land yet smoking with European blood, would have shaken the nerves of most men. Yet individuals were found who, with a generous self-devotion, did not shrink from the undertaking; nor does it appear that the implied pledge of safety was violated even during war.* The Onondagoes, in 1656, went so far as to solicit that a settlement connected with a mission should be formed in their territory; and Lauson, then governor, having acceded to this proposal, sent the Sieur Dupuys, with fifty of his countrymen, who built a church in the bosom of that savage region. This establishment, however, was generally disapproved by the other tribes; and after it had subsisted two years, formidable assemblages took place, which Dupuys could not doubt were intended to attack him. He therefore considered himself fortunate in being able, while their attention was attracted to a great feast given for that purpose by a friendly Indian, to embark his troops, and convey them to Montreal.†

The French felt themselves too weak to reject proposals for peace, though often made with mortifying haughtiness. The Viscount d'Argenson, who went out in 1658, considered it necessary to accept their terms, especially as the utmost cruelties were otherwise threatened to the captives. Yet even by these means his countrymen scarcely obtained any degree of the expected repose. This disappointment arose either from deliberate treachery, or the impossibility of confining in one course the various unruly elements of which the confederacy consisted. The most amicable professions hardly procured a respite from hostility; for while one party treated, another attacked: "Peace, it is said, is proclaimed at Montreal, while war rages at Trois Rivières; we are daily attacked and murdered by those who call them-

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1655, 1656, p. 18-20; ans 1660, 1661, p. 33-40.

† Charlevoix in Heriot, pp. 74, 81-86.

selves our friends." At length, in 1663, it was announced that a grand deputation was coming from all the cantons, with the professed intention to unite the whole earth, and to bury the hatchet so deep, that it might never again be dug up; and they brought with them a hundred collars of wampum. Unhappily a party of Algonquins, stung by accumulated wrongs, determined to violate even the sacred character of such a mission; and having formed an ambuscade, they surprised and killed the greater part of them. All prospects of peace were thus blasted, and war raged with greater fury than ever.*

The Iroquois, during this period, continually extended their dominion. Having seen the powerful effect of firearms, they procured them from the Dutch at Manhatti, and thus acquired an additional superiority over the neighbouring tribes. They attacked the Ottawas, on account of the shelter afforded to their fugitive enemies. That people did not make even an attempt at resistance, but sought refuge amid marshes or in the islands on Lake Huron, while others penetrated far south-west into the valley of the Mississippi, where they formed a junction with the Sioux. On the same ground the Iroquois commenced a desperate war with the nation of the Eriez,—a name in their language signifying Cats. After a somewhat hard struggle, they completely succeeded; seven hundred of them stormed the main fortress of the enemy, though defended by 2000 men; and the survivors were either incorporated with the victors, or fled into remoter regions. This once powerful nation has left no memorial of its existence except the great lake which bears its name. It is reckoned that the conquerors held undisputed sway over a country five hundred miles in circuit. The very sight of one of them struck terror into the neighbouring tribes; and on the side of New England, the cry of "A Mohawk!" echoed

* Missions en la Nouvelle France, ans 1660, 1661, p. 12-26 ans 1663, 1664, p. 160, &c. Heriot, pp. 87, 94, 95.

from hill to hill, causing general consternation and flight.*

Amid this series of disastrous events, the French governors, whether from weakness or pusillanimity, beheld the destruction of their allies and the complete ascendency of this hostile power, without any attempt to prevent either. They did not even go to war, but thought it enough to keep the colonists shut up in fortified posts, which the enemy had not skill to besiege; and nothing else prevented them from speedily destroying these settlements, the environs of which they daily insulted. They even made a descent upon the Isle of Orleans, where they surprised a party of ninety Hurons; and having killed six, bound the rest, and made them sing in front of Quebec, thus openly defying the governor. M. Maisonneuve, apprehensive for Montreal, and unable otherwise to procure aid, repaired to France, where, by earnest solicitation, he obtained a reinforcement of a hundred men. The Hurons, under European protection, in a moment of despondency, had made an offer of uniting themselves to the Iroquois, which, as usual, was readily accepted; but the former soon repented. That proud nation then sent thirty deputies to remonstrate, not only with them, but with the governor-general, M. de Lauson. To him they said, "Lift up thy arm, Onontbio, and allow thy children, whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom, to depart; for if they are guilty of any imprudence, thou hast reason to fear, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows fall on thy head." They even demanded canoes to convey these reluctant associates. Lauson, instead of resenting this haughty address, caused them to be informed, that if the Hurons were inclined to go, he would not oppose their departure; that he had no canoes, but they might construct as many as they wanted. After this, considering that no option was left them, except to which of the five nations they

* Heriot, p. 73-77. Missions, ans 1659, 1660, p. 33-35. Colden's History of the Five Nations, vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

should unite themselves, the greater part in consequence left the island.*

Amid these external evils, the colony was farther visited by a terrible convulsion of nature. A succession of earthquakes, which commenced on the 5th February 1663, were felt for half a year with little intermission throughout all Canada, recurring two or three times every day, agitating both the earth and the waters, and spreading universal alarm; yet, as they did not inflict any permanent injury, nor cause the loss of a single life, the accounts given of them are probably much exaggerated.†

Meantime the most urgent representations were made to Louis XIV. that his government was totally neglecting one of the finest countries in the world, and exposing the French name to contempt, by allowing it to be trampled upon by a handful of savages. That prince, who had recently assumed the reins of power, being eagerly bent upon every means of aggrandizement, was not likely to overlook one so considerable. He was seconded by his minister Colbert, who had specially devoted his thoughts to the extension of commerce; and it was therefore immediately resolved to take steps for raising Canada to her due importance. Four hundred troops were ordered thither; and M. de Monts was appointed commissioner to examine into and regulate the different branches of administration. The governor had hitherto exercised in person, and without control, all its functions; but there was now united with him a council of royal appointment, and an intendant, to whom were intrusted the weighty concerns of justice, police, finance, and marine.

This new system did not at first work altogether smoothly, nor did the independent materials of which it was composed well harmonize. M. de Mesy, the governor, after having sent back to France two of the principal members of council, was himself recalled. The

* Heriot, pp. 73, 75, 78-82.
† Ibid. pp. 99-102. Missions, an 1663, pp. 17, 18.

court, however, persevered in its determination to raise the new colony to a proper rank. The associates who had so long neglected it, and were unwilling to involve themselves in a large outlay with uncertain returns, resigned their privileges into the hands of the crown; and government, according to the unvarying system of that age, placed it in the hands of the West India Company, though it retained for some time the administration of its affairs.*

In pursuance of these views, the Marquis de Tracy was sent out in 1665 under the joint character of viceroy and lieutenant-general, and thus invested with uncontrolled power. Along with him, in addition to the former detachment, was despatched the entire regiment of Carignan-Salières, for some time employed in Hungary against the Turks, where it had acquired a high reputation. A considerable number of settlers, including artisans, with horses and cattle, formed an accession to the colony exceeding the amount of its actual members.

The new viceroy lost no time in taking measures for checking the insolence of the Iroquois, and establishing a supremacy over these proud savages. He began by erecting three forts on the river Richelieu, in a situation fitted to cover the French territory from their incursions. Overawed by these movements, and by the report of his large force, three of the cantons sent deputies with ample professions of friendship, proposing an exchange of all the prisoners taken on both sides since the last treaty. The viceroy was pleased with their deportment, and agreed to the terms. The fierce Oneydas and Mohawks, however, still kept aloof; and a party of the latter even killed three officers, one of whom, De Chasy, was nephew to the viceroy. But as two corps were advancing into their territory, an envoy from each nation soon appeared at Quebec, professing to negotiate for peace. They were well received, and invited to the governor's table, when the conversation happening to

* Charlevoix in Heriot, pp. 97, 103-112.

fall on De Chasy's death, the Mohawk, in a paroxysm of savage pride, lifted his arm, saying, "With this hand that young officer was slain." Tracy, in a transport of rage, told him he should never live to kill another Frenchman, and ordered him to be immediately strangled; while the other deputy was detained a prisoner.*

This event put an end to all pacific overtures. De Courcelles had already begun his march into the Mohawk dominions; but as it was the depth of winter, the excessive cold, together with the wary conduct adopted by the enemy, prevented him from effecting much. On his return he found the viceroy ready to take the field, with an expedition on a greater scale, in which 600 of the Carignan regiment were employed. He detained, without listening to them, two new ambassadors, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, resolved to command in person. In spite of every precaution, the Indians had received notice of his approach, and, abandoning their villages, they left him to march through a desolate country. He found, however, an abundance of grain buried near their deserted abodes, which enabled him to subsist his troops till he reached the extreme frontier, where he found the Indians assembled on a spot whither they had not expected him to penetrate. On discovering the French they attempted no resistance, but fled with precipitation into still more remote and less accessible retreats; and as the viceroy could not attempt to occupy this extensive territory, he found it necessary to return, without striking any decisive blow.

Though this expedition had not fully answered its object, yet the awe which it inspired, added to the protection of the forts, secured the colony in a great degree from the inroad of these fierce marauders. It enjoyed a long tranquillity, and began even to assume a flourishing and cultivated appearance. Most of the regiment of Carignan, both officers and soldiers, settled

* Heriot, p. 113-116.

in the country, where they received liberal grants of land. As many of the former belonged to families of rank, they rendered society more polished than was usual in transatlantic communities, though they introduced the feudal laws and usages at that time common in Europe. Considerable inconvenience having arisen from the scattered manner in which a great part of the lands had been brought into cultivation, an attempt was made to concentrate them; but the amount of labour and property already invested rendered this to a great extent impracticable.*

M. de Courcelles, who succeeded Tracy in 1667, is accused of some faults in the internal administration; but in his conduct towards the Indians, which formed the most important and difficult branch, he displayed a happy union of firmness and address. He even succeeded, though not without difficulty and some indignation on their part, in preventing his savage allies from engaging in war against the Iroquois. He availed himself of this auspicious interval to extend the power of France to the interior of Canada and the upper parts of the St Lawrence. Two Jesuits, Perrot and Marquette, were employed to survey those districts. The latter induced a large body of the Hurons to settle at Michillimakinac, on an island in the river, between the great lakes Huron and Michigan, a situation very favourable for the fur-trade. Agreeably to the reports transmitted to him, the governor fixed upon Cataraqui, on Lake Ontario, near the present site of Kingston, as an advantageous point both for the protection of the trade and for holding the Five Nations in awe. He visited the spot, and having procured a meeting of the savage chiefs, obtained their consent to the measure, carefully concealing, of course, the most important object contemplated in its erection.

Courcelles had requested his recall, and on his return to Quebec in 1672 found his place supplied by Louis,

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* Heriot, p. 120-125.

Count de Frontenac, who was destined to act a most important part in the history of Canada. He was able, enterprising, active, and ambitious, but proud, overbearing, and subject to capricious jealousies and enmities. He entered, however, cordially into the views of his predecessor in regard to the fort at Cataraqui, which he immediately caused to be established; and it has often from him been called Fort Frontenac. At the same time he set on foot, or actively promoted, vast projects for exploring the interior regions of America.*

Although this leader conducted the affairs of the colony with spirit and energy, his domineering temper could not brook the checks by which a jealous court sought to limit his jurisdiction. It was enjoined that all affairs of importance should be decided in a council composed of himself, the bishop, and the intendant, each with an equal vote. The prelate was supported by a numerous body of clergy, many of whom were connected with powerful families at home, and were accused of wishing to obtain the supreme direction of affairs. Their influence was laudably exerted in opposing the sale of spirits to the savages, which produced most pernicious effects, but which the count considered as at once extremely profitable, and a means of attaching them to the French interest. The government, on carefully considering the opposite statements, decided according to the opinion of the clergy, and strictly prohibited the traffic. But the count had still more violent dissensions with the intendant, M. Chesneau, who was not only a member of the council, but authorized to act as its president; and being considered a man of a mild temper, the chief blame was thrown on the governor. As it was found impossible for them to act together, the court determined to recall both; and M. de la Barre, accordingly, in 1682, was sent out as the new viceroy.†

Canada was then in a critical situation, which rendered it ill able to sustain the want of a vigorous

* Heriot, p. 123-140. † Ibid. pp. 146-149, 160, 161.

administration. The fine territory on the Hudson, at first occupied by the Dutch under the title of New Belgium, was subsequently claimed, and, after several contests, secured by the English, who named it New York. Here, according to European ideas, they held the Iroquois country as included within their dominion; and though this pretension could not be yet declared, they endeavoured with success to court that people, and alienate them from the French. Their merchants, carrying on a free trade, while that of their rivals was fettered by an exclusive company, dealt with the tribes on more advantageous terms. The Iroquois, therefore, found it their interest, not only to carry all their furs to the English market, but to buy up those of the savages in alliance with France. Heavy complaints were made by that power; but the Indians, assured of British support, treated them with great indifference; and that shrewd race soon discovered, in the eager competition between these two European nations, the means of rendering their own position more secure and imposing. The military strength of the colony, too, was greatly reduced; the troops who had gone out with De Tracy, having had lands assigned to them, were become proprietors and cultivators rather than soldiers; and though they held their tenures on the condition of military service, they could not be called out without interrupting the agriculture of the country, and endangering its subsistence.

M. de la Barre, however, determined upon war, and, having obtained a reinforcement of 200 men, advanced up the river. He was met at Montreal by deputies from the cantons, who made strong professions of friendship; but these he considered vague and unworthy of credit, and was confirmed in this opinion when soon after a party of fourteen of his countrymen were attacked and plundered.* He endeavoured, however, to divide the strength of these fierce tribes, by sending belts of peace

* Heriot, pp. 162-168, 174, 175.

to three of them, and directing all his force against the Senekas, whom he considered the most hostile, and also, we suspect, because it was through their territory that the English penetrated to the fur-trade on the lakes. This hope was quite illusory in regard to the members of so politic a confederation. In proceeding upwards, he received notice that deputies from the other tribes were coming to mediate a peace between him and their neighbours; that in case of refusal, they were determined to make common cause with them; and, in the event of this alternative, they had received ample assurances of support from New York. The difficulties of the French commander were greatly increased by sickness, which, in consequence of the bad quality of the provisions, had broken out in his army. Yet when the deputies met him on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, he assumed a lofty tone. He complained of their inroads into the country of the Illinois and other tribes in alliance with France; of their outrages against the traders of that nation; and particularly of their having conducted the English to the lakes, and enabled them to supplant the commerce of his countrymen. He concluded by stating that unless reparation were made for these injuries, with a promise to abstain from them in future, war and the devastation of their country must be the immediate consequence. The deputies very coolly replied, that Ononthio appeared to speak like one in a dream; and that if he would open his eyes, he would see himself wholly destitute of the means to execute these formidable threats. They defended their right to make war upon any Indian nations by whom they conceived themselves aggrieved; adding that the French party were attacked by them because they were conveying arms to their enemies. As to the English, they had allowed them to pass through their lands, on the same principle that they had given permission to his people, and would continue to do so. They were afraid lest the great number of warriors here present, if they proceeded to Cataraqui, should trample down the tree of peace

there so happily planted. They were still willing to dance the calumet-dance under the shadow of its branches, and to leave the hatchet buried, unless the country granted to them by the Great Spirit should be attacked. The Onondago deputies guaranteed reparation for any actual plunder inflicted on French traders, but added that no more could be conceded, and that the army must be immediately withdrawn. However humiliating these terms were, after such lofty threats and preparations, De la Barre had no choice but to comply.* The English, on the other hand, reproached the Iroquois for not having prosecuted the war, and in terms which seemed to indicate a right to direct their movements. They replied, however, in the same determined manner: "Ononthio," said they, "is our father, and Corlaer (as they called the Governor of New York) our brother; but neither of them is our master. He who created the world gave us the land which we occupy; we are free; we respect both; but neither has a right to command us; and no person ought to take offence that we prevent the earth from being troubled." On another occasion, they said, "Brother Corlaer, we tell you, that we shall bind a covenant chain to our arm and to his as thick as that post."† We cannot forbear remarking, that in this whole transaction the savages appear to great advantage compared both with their European allies and enemies.

De la Barre, on arriving at Quebec, received despatches which placed him greatly at fault. A fresh reinforcement had been landed, and the letters from court intimated the full expectation that he was carrying on a triumphant war with the Five Nations. On this supposition, the king made an absurd and cruel request, that he would send a number of Iroquois prisoners to man his galleys. We may then imagine the dissatisfaction felt at home when the real issue of the campaign was reported. The governor was immediately

* Heriot, p. 170-189. † Ibid. p. 179-180. Colden, vol. i. p. 66.

pronounced unfit for his situation, and was superseded in 1685 by the Marquis de Denonville, distinguished as a brave and active officer.

This commander on his arrival made some professions of a wish to maintain peace; though he must have understood that a quite opposite course was really expected of him. After giving what he professed to consider a fair trial, he soon declared his conviction that the Iroquois could never be conciliated, and that it was a matter of political necessity either to extirpate or reduce them to entire dependence. He proposed also to erect a strong fort at Niagara, both to hold them in check and also to prevent their introducing the English to the fur-trade on the lakes. He opened his campaign with a measure the most iniquitous and unjustifiable that can well be conceived. Having, under various pretexts, allured a number of chiefs to meet him on the banks of Lake Ontario, he suddenly put them in irons, and sent them off to France, to fulfil the king's absurd scheme with regard to the manning of his galleys. He had not scrupled to employ two missionaries in this base stratagem; but the Indians believing them to be unconscious instruments of the crime, generously spared them both.*

There could now be nothing on either side but war to the utmost extremity. Denonville was fully prepared for it, and had 800 French regulars, with 1300 Canadians and savages, ready to advance into the Seneka country, with the resolution, it is said, of putting all to the sword. On approaching the first village, they were suddenly attacked in front and rear by 800 of the enemy, and it was most mortifying to the French to find themselves thrown into a good deal of confusion, and to see the battle retrieved by their undisciplined allies. The Iroquois, being repulsed, did not again make their appearance in the field. The conqueror marched for ten days through vast woods, burning and destroying the

* Heriot, pp. 190-194, 208, 209.

grain and provisions, but not meeting a single enemy. A doubt respecting the fidelity of his allies, and, as we suspect, the exhausted state of his general equipment, then induced him to retire. He carried into execution, however, his plan of erecting and garrisoning a fort at Niagara.

Notwithstanding the semblance of success in this expedition, it appeared, on the retreat of the invaders, that the Iroquois were complete masters of the upper course of the St Lawrence. They blockaded the two forts of Niagara and Cataraqui, the former of which they reduced and rased to the ground. They covered Lake Ontario with their canoes. The native allies of the French, seeing no prospect of assistance from them, began to waver; nor is it doubted that, if the savages had understood the art of siege, they would have rooted the Europeans entirely out of Canada. As it was, they determined on the course, which, it must be owned, they had often shown themselves very ready to embrace, of making proposals of peace. Deputies arrived at Montreal, leaving at two days' march behind a corps of 1200 of their countrymen, ready for immediate action. They boasted to the governor of their commanding position, and, insisting upon the restoration of the chiefs unjustly seized and of all other captives, allowed him only four days to accept the offer, otherwise the whole country would be in flames. The deepest consternation prevailed at Montreal; and Denonville saw himself under the necessity of accepting these humiliating terms, and requesting back from France the chiefs whom he had iniquitously sent thither.*

This treaty was interrupted by an unexpected act of treachery. The Hurons had entered into the war on the full understanding that it should not terminate till the Iroquois were destroyed or completely humbled. They dreaded now that they might be left defenceless, and have to sustain the attacks of that potent tribe; an issue which

* Heriot, p. 212-219. Colden, p. 93. La Potherie, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208.

their principal chief, the Rat, took a most savage means of averting. Having learned that a body of their deputies were to land at the cascades of St Lawrence on their way to Montreal, he and a party of his countrymen lay in ambush, and killed or captured them as they successively disembarked. He then informed the prisoners that this crime had been committed at the instigation of the governor, who had even practised a deception to induce him to commit it, and pretending to be shocked at the treachery into which he had been seduced, he sent them home. It is easy to conceive the indignation of the cantons at this intelligence; and though Denonville disavowed, in the strongest terms, the allegations of the Rat, the flame once kindled could not be fully quenched. The Hurons were also encouraged by the hope of gaining over the allies of the French, who, seeing that people no longer able to protect them, were all disposed to make terms with the party which now appeared the strongest. The Iroquois made a sudden descent on the island of Montreal, which they laid waste with fire and sword, carrying off 200 prisoners, without having experienced any resistance. The fort at Cataraqui, like that at Niagara, was blown up and abandoned.

In this extremity, when the very existence of the colony was threatened, it was judged indispensable to place at its head an officer possessing energy of character, and address in dealing with the savages. These qualities were united in the Count de Frontenac, who, during his former administration, had made himself both beloved and feared by all those nations; and experience, it was hoped, would teach him to avoid the errors which had led to his recall. The count took out with him the captive chiefs whom his predecessor had so unjustly seized; and so fascinating were his manners, that he completely gained their favour,—Oureouharé, the principal one, remaining ever after most strongly attached to him.

Frontenac, on his arrival in 1689, endeavoured

to open a negotiation with the Iroquois, whom he entertained sanguine hopes of conciliating. By the advice of Oureouharé, he sent a deputy of that nation whom he found at Montreal, with four of his captive countrymen, to announce to the cantons his return, and his wish to resume amicable relations. The friendly chief transmitted a message, requesting them to send an embassy to their ancient father, from whom they would experience much tenderness and esteem, and whom he would not quit till the affair was satisfactorily adjusted.

The council of the Iroquois, after some deliberation, sent back the same deputies with six belts, intimating their resolution. It was expressed in lofty and even embittered terms. Choosing to consider Ononthio as always one and the same, they complained that his rods of correction had been too sharp and cutting. The roots of the tree of peace which he had planted at Fort Frontenac had been withered by blood; the ground had been polluted with treachery and falsehood. They demanded atonement for these injuries, and that Oureouharé, with his captive companions, should be sent back, previous to the liberation of the French prisoners. Ononthio would then be at liberty to plant again the "tree of peace, but not on the same spot." This answer was regarded by Frontenac as very unsatisfactory; yet anxious to keep open the negotiation, he sent an officer with eight belts from Oureouharé, importing that they should detach themselves from the English and Dutch, and unite in close alliance with France. Till then that chief declined returning to his canton.*

Two circumstances emboldened the Iroquois to assume this high tone. In consequence of the revolution of 1688, when the cause of James II. was embraced by the French monarch, the two kingdoms were now at open war; and the Five Nations could depend upon the cordial co-operation both of the English and the Dutch. At the same time, they were engaged in a treaty with the

* Heriot, p. 220-236.

Ottawas and other tribes, who, besides being anxious to have a better market for their furs, complained that the alliance of the French was only a burden to them, as they found it necessary to protect them instead of enjoying their protection. In this crisis, the count feeling a strong inducement to do something to retrieve the reputation of his country, resolved to strike the first blow against the English, on whose support the enemy so strongly relied. An expedition was fitted out at Quebec in 1690 against Corlaer or Schenectady, the frontier town of New York, and from which the Indians gave name to the governor. This party, composed of 110 French and a number of savages, succeeded completely in surprising the place. They found the gates open, and encountered resistance only at one point, where it was soon overcome. The fort and every house were pillaged and burnt. The English accounts add, that all the horrors of Indian warfare were let loose on the defenceless inhabitants; that sixty-three men, women, and children were massacred in cold blood, and a small remnant carried away as prisoners. The victors, on their return, suffered severely from want of food, being obliged to kill almost all their horses. The Iroquois were not intimidated nor estranged from the English by this catastrophe; on the contrary, they sent to the survivors a number of belts, importing that they felt and would avenge the wrong, as if done to themselves. Not a man in Canada should dare to go out to cut a stick. "We are," said they, "of the race of the bear, and a bear you know never yields while a drop of his blood is left." One belt, importing eye-water to make their sight sharp, delicately intimated the necessity of greater precaution in future. Others were to wipe away their tears, and assure them that "the sun, which had been cloudy, and sent this disaster, would shine again with his pleasant beams."*

Meantime, a smaller expedition from Trois Rivières succeeded in surprising and destroying an English village

* Heriot, p. 237-242. Colden, vol. i. p. 120-125.

named Sementels. The count also sent M. de Louvigny, with a large detachment, to strengthen the remote post of Michillimakinac, which had been maintained with great difficulty. This service was effected, and a party of the enemy, who attempted to surprise them, were completely defeated. Notwithstanding this success, the Iroquois maintained the same active hostility; but a favourable influence was produced on the old allies of the French, who seeing them resume their former energy, determined to prefer their support to that of new and suspicious friends. The Ottawas owned that they had made some progress in a negotiation, but as soon as they heard of the return of their ancient father, had determined to break it off. The Hurons, who had not taken such open steps, denied having ever entered into any treaty.*

Meantime, a storm was ready to burst, which threatened the very existence of French power in America. The English determined to strike a blow, which might at once deprive the enemy of all his possessions. Two expeditions were prepared, one by sea from Boston, against Quebec, the other by land from New York, against Montreal. The first was commanded by Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, of humble birth, who had raised himself by his talents to a high station. Having sailed with thirty-four vessels of different sizes, and a large body of troops, he proceeded with such activity that he had captured all the posts in Acadia and Newfoundland, with several on the St Lawrence, and was within a few days' sail of Quebec, before the alarm spread thither. Frontenac, who was at Montreal, hastened down to strengthen the defences, which at that time consisted in a great measure of rude intrenchments of timber and earth. On the morning of the 16th October 1690, the fleet appeared in view, and an officer came with a summons, which was peremptorily rejected. Sir William took no active measure till mid-

* Heriot, pp. 243-248, 249, 250.

day on the 18th,—a remissness which was much blamed. He then landed 1500 men on the banks of the river St Charles. The French could muster only 300 irregulars; but these, posting themselves among rocks and bushes, with which the marshy ground was covered, kept up a constant fire, that caused great loss to their enemy. Before night, however, they retreated into the town, leaving the assailants masters of the field. In the evening, the large vessels anchored in front of the city, and opened a brisk fire; but being directed against the upper part, it produced little effect. It was renewed on the following day, and continued till noon, but was equally fruitless, while the ships sustained considerable damage. The squadron was then moved up the river, beyond Cape Diamond. On the same day, the troops continued to advance, though slowly, and harassed by constant attacks. Phipps, whose only hope was now from land-batteries, sent on shore six pieces of ordnance, and next day endeavoured again to push forward with his men. The militia, however, with increased numbers and activity, harassed them, and at length, covered by some palisades, kept up so brisk a fire as to arrest their progress. The English commander at this stage considering the enterprise hopeless, embarked his soldiers on the 22d, submitting at the same time to the mortifying necessity of leaving his cannon and ammunition. Colden considers it certain, that had he at once made a vigorous attack on the body of the place, he would have easily carried it. The French, he says, returned fervent thanks to Providence for having, by a special interposition, deprived their enemies of common sense.*

The expedition against Montreal did not take place at the appointed time, owing to a want of concert between the parties. Next year, however (1691), after some desultory ravages by the Iroquois, news arrived that they, with their English and native allies, were advancing along the river Sorel. The command at Montreal was then held

* Heriot, p. 255-262. Colden, vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

by De Callières, a very able officer, who had gained the respect and attachment of his savage neighbours. It is said, that on this and other high occasions, he danced with them the war-dance, brandishing the hatchet, shouting and hallooing in their national manner. In addition to his countrymen, he had assembled about 800 Indians at the Prairie de la Magdeleine, near the town. Still the Iroquois, by their rapid movements and skill in ambuscade, succeeded in surprising several of the advanced posts, and carrying off a considerable number of prisoners. But when the force on both sides was fully mustered, the assailants, though after a very hard contest, were obliged to retreat.

After these successes, the governor felt himself in a very commanding position, and no longer entertained any fear for the safety of the colony. Yet the Iroquois, under a favourite chief named the Black Cauldron, continued to make sudden inroads in every direction, rendering seedtime and harvest alike precarious, and exposing every one who stirred out of the forts to the hazard of losing his life. It was their boast, that their enemies should have no rest except in the grave. In this desultory contest, the advantage was usually on their side; and though a French detachment penetrated into the canton of the Mohawks, they were obliged to return without gaining any decisive advantage.*

The Iroquois, however, in the beginning of 1694, began to show a disposition towards peace. Two Onondagoes came to Montreal, and asked De Callières if certain deputies, who were on their way, would be received. They were answered in the affirmative; yet two months elapsed before they availed themselves of this concession. In March there came only an apology from the chief, who was to have been at the head of the embassy, and who threw the blame of the delay upon the English. A dark suspicion was now entertained, that these missions were contrived with a most treacherous

* Heriot, p. 265-273. Colden, vol. i. p. 139-142.

design,—to stab the governor and M. de Callières in public council, while a large body concealed in ambush should take advantage of the confusion. Nothing ever occurred that could seem to justify this horrid apprehension, so little consistent with the cold and tardy manner in which the proposals were made. The truth appears to be, that two parties divided the councils of the savages. One, supported by our countrymen, and relying on their promises, eagerly urged the prosecution of the war. But the other, seconded by the "praying Indians," or the converts made by the missionaries, represented that the nation was wasting itself in a fruitless warfare; that the British made large promises, and put them on bold enterprises, but did nothing to support them; that, in short, they were lavish of American blood, but sparing of their own. A vacillating policy resulted from this conflict. However, in May, the chief arrived with eight deputies, and was well received by the governor, notwithstanding his want of confidence. This was the season of sowing, during the continuance of which a truce was extremely convenient. They expressed the most friendly disposition, and even solicited the restoration of the fort of Cataraqui,—a request which Frontenac little expected, but was quite disposed to grant. Oureouharé went with these deputies, and returned in the company of others, bringing also thirteen Frenchmen, several of whom were persons of distinction, who had been long held in captivity. They came, however, only from two cantons, and though the first belt, relating to the prisoners, was conceived in friendly terms, the exposition of the others was obscure and unsatisfactory; and all attempt to obtain a proper explanation proved fruitless. It transpired, however, that the English interest was powerfully exerted against peace; and all that was at present contemplated was "to suspend the hatchet." The count, though courteously, rejected all the belts except the first, declaring, that he wished to chastise them only as a father does his children; but that, unless

more friendly sentiments were entertained, he could not long withhold the intended blow.*

Affairs continued for some time in this uncertain state, the enemy making repeated proposals, to which little credit was attached; while the governor, not having yet sufficient force to open the campaign in an imposing manner, against a people who could muster 3000 warriors, was not unwilling to have a pretext for delay. Instead, however, of showing a more friendly temper, the deputies began to assume a loftier tone, demanding that he should send envoys to their villages, and should cease at once all hostilities against them and the English. It was also understood that various attempts were made on their part to detach the allies, not without some prospect of success. The count, therefore, considered it indispensable to proceed to some measure which might impress the savages with an adequate idea of his power. The prevailing opinion was, that he ought at once to march his whole force into the heart of their territory; but he preferred sending, in the first instance, an expedition to re-establish the fort of Cataraqui. This service was effected with promptitude, and almost without opposition. It did not, however, stop the tendency to defection among his confederates, who loudly complained of the disadvantageous terms on which the French traders dealt with them, when compared with those obtained from the British through the Five Nations. The lead was taken by a Huron chief, named the Baron, who concluded a treaty, not only comprehending his own adherents, but even embracing the Ottawas; all of whom promised to desert the French, and unite with their mortal enemies. Yet La Motte Cadillac, commander at Michillimakinac, by impressing on them with great address a dread of his sovereign's power, contrived to change the resolution of these fickle tribes. They were even guilty of a counter-treachery, attacking a party of the Iroquois, who had

* Heriot, p. 282-288.

joined them, and defeating them with great loss.* These proceedings, however, were felt by the governor as strongly calling for some vigorous steps to restore the reputation of his arms; and this could only be effected by carrying war on a great scale into the enemy's country. As this resolution, however, was formed in the autumn its execution was delayed till the following summer, De Callières being convinced that the army could not, without much suffering, march amid frost and snow into those desolate regions. He listened to a plan for sending a detachment during the winter into the canton of the Mohawks; but it was soon understood that, through the aid of the English, they had placed themselves beyond the hazard of being overwhelmed by any sudden attack. An attempt to surprise hunting-parties, who crossed the St Lawrence in spring, was attended with only partial success.

It was not till the month of June 1696 that operations could be regularly commenced. At that period all the forces which could be mustered, regulars, militia, and Indians, were marched upon Cataraqui, and thence into the canton of Onondago. Great difficulty was found in conveying the army and baggage in batteaux along rapid streams; and on one occasion the greater part had nearly been carried down an impetuous waterfal. On entering a lake, they discovered, suspended to a tree, two bundles of rushes, which intimated that 1434 warriors were waiting to engage them. They therefore sailed across, and formed themselves in regular order of battle. A fort was constructed to serve as a magazine and place of retreat, and the troops then cautiously began their march into the heart of those savage regions. De Callières commanded the left wing; the Chevalier de Vaudreuil the right; while the count, then seventy-six years of age, was carried in the centre in an elbow-chair. The host of the Five Nations, however, did not appear; and, on reaching their principal fortress, it was found reduced to

* Heriot, pp. 289, 291-298, 305-308.

ashes, while two Frenchmen, long detained there, had been recently massacred. This excited surprise, as the fort had been carefully constructed by the English, in a regular form, with a double palisade, and strengthened by bastions and redoubts. It soon, however, became evident that the cantons had determined to adopt the same policy as on former occasions, of allowing the enemy to march unresisted through their territory, satisfied that they would never be able to form any permanent establishment. Several prisoners escaped; but the invaders could only overtake one Indian, nearly a hundred years old, who was barbarously given up to the allied savages to be tortured. It was a dreadful spectacle to see more than four hundred men venting their rage on this venerable and infirm warrior, who endured all they could inflict upon him with unshaken fortitude, deriding his adversaries as slaves to a contemptible race of foreigners.*

After the Onondago canton had been thus overrun, the Oneidas sent deputies; but Frontenac, under present circumstances, would accept nothing short of unconditional submission. De Vaudreuil marched into their territory, and laid it waste. It had been determined in council to advance, and treat the Cayugas in a similar manner; but the count, influenced probably by the exhausted state of his armament, resolved upon returning to Montreal. This conduct is much censured by the French writers, who consider that operations might have been carried further with great advantage. English authors, on the contrary, consider the whole expedition as an act of heroic folly, by which nothing was effected, except the destruction of some grain and wooden cabins. The Iroquois presently rallied, and harassed the invaders severely in their retreat; nor did they afterwards cease their incursions into the settlement till they found the frontier so strongly guarded, that they could not carry off any important plunder.†

* Heriot, p. 309-321. La Potherie, vol. iii. pp. 207, 208.
† Ibid. p. 322-327. Colden, vol. i. pp. 197, 202.

The governor, meanwhile, had a difficult negotiation with his own court, who had been persuaded that the advanced posts maintained in the upper parts of the colony were of very little advantage, while they chiefly caused the desolating wars in which it had been involved. The traffic thither, in fact, was carried on very irregularly by an adventurous but desperate race, called the *coureurs du bois*. It was, besides, a strict monopoly, being only allowed under licenses granted to old officers or favourites, who sold them for about 600 crowns each to the merchants. The purchasers fitted out the coureurs with canoes and merchandise, reaping profits so ample, that the value of 8000 crowns was procured for French goods worth only a thousand. The savages, by their intercourse with the English, learning the extent to which they were cheated, made incessant complaints; and it was therefore proposed to allow them to bring their own furs and dispose of them at Montreal, while the colonists should devote all their attention to the cultivation of the soil. But the governor and other members of the administration argued that this step would throw the Indian allies entirely into the hands of the Five Nations and the British; adding that, while the fur-trade would be entirely lost, a general confederacy of the tribes against France might be also dreaded. They were probably influenced by the fear of sacrificing their own power and patronage; and they contrived so to modify the injunctions from court, that they produced little practical effect.*

The Iroquois continued the war with vigour, but both they and the English met with repeated disasters, which made them wish for peace. The Black Cauldron himself, in a hunting expedition, was surprised and killed by a party of Algonquins. Negotiations were opened through Oureouhare, whose sudden death again retarded them; but their success was secured by tidings that peace had been concluded in Europe between France

* Heriot, pp. 200, 201, 334-336.

and Britain. The colonists of the latter power, who first received the intelligence, sent a deputation to Quebec, to propose an exchange of prisoners, both as respected themselves and their allies. The count, however, preferred to negotiate separately with the cantons, and he soon had the satisfaction to discover that, notwithstanding the alliance which had so long united them to the English, a deep jealousy was now felt lest that people, when no longer obliged to court their aid, should endeavour to enforce certain claims of sovereignty. He studiously cherished this impression, hoping to improve it into a friendship with his own countrymen. But in the midst of these transactions he died, on the 29th November 1698, leaving a high reputation for the energetic measures by which, with little aid from the mother-country, he had retrieved the affairs of the settlement, and raised it into a powerful and flourishing state. He was disinterested, but ambitious, haughty, and jealous of his authority; qualities which created him many enemies, and considerably obstructed his designs.*

De Callières, who had already distinguished himself by important services, was appointed his successor, and administered affairs in a manner which gave entire satisfaction. With more steadiness and prudence than the count, he possessed nearly equal vigour and address. Much time and many difficulties, however, still intervened before all matters could be finally adjusted with the Iroquois, and between them and the allies; but at length, in 1700, a pacification was effected, and the numerous prisoners on both sides were allowed to return. On this occasion, there was witnessed a surprising and somewhat mortifying occurrence; for, while the natives eagerly sought their homes, the greater part of the French captives were found to have contracted such an attachment to the wild freedom of the woods, that neither the commands of the king, nor the tears and entreaties of their friends, could induce them to quit the savage associates with whom they had united.

* Heriot, p. 337-345.

After peace had been thus established with their enemies, the French were involved in a contest with their allies. Bourgmont, governor of Detroit, had endeavoured to unite the Ottawas with the Miamis in an expedition into the interior of the continent; but animosities had been for some time fermenting between these tribes, aggravated by some imprudent and violent actions on his part. At length the former, instigated by a leading chief named "the Heavy," commenced an attack upon the latter, whom they pursued under the cannon of the fort. The guns being opened upon them, a contest ensued, in which two Frenchmen, one of whom was a priest, were killed. The assailants then retired, and an old chief came to the governor to make the most humble apologies for this outrage, describing it as a momentary ebullition, for which they could not themselves account. The European leader promised pardon, provided the savage, who had instigated them to this violence, were delivered up. To this step they showed the most extreme reluctance, even pretending that it was out of their power; but as the condition was held indispensable, they at length produced the offender, though with the most earnest entreaties for his pardon. This was granted, though rather imprudently; for the Miamis, who had considered themselves fully entitled to his head, raised a violent commotion, which it required some force to put down.*

Scarcely had peace been thus concluded among the savage tribes, with some hope of duration, when it was broken by their civilized neighbours. The succession of Philip of Anjou to the throne of Spain gave rise to a long and eventful contest between France and England. It was begun by Louis XIV. in the height of his power, and with every prospect of giving law to all Europe; instead of which, the exploits of Marlborough and Eugène, the fields of Blenheim and Ramillies, reduced him to the lowest condition, and at one time even

* Heriot, pp. 345, 362, 374-377, 380-384.

seemed to place his crown in peril. In these disastrous circumstances, the mother-country was obliged to leave her colonies to their own resources; while England, elated with repeated triumphs, conceived the bold design of embracing within her territory the whole north of America. The situation of Canada was rendered still more critical by the death of De Callières, her able governor, which took place in May 1703, though he was succeeded by the Count de Vaudreuil, who proved himself by no means destitute of the qualities requisite for hi high office.

The English now called upon their allies of the Five Nations to renew hostilities against their old enemies; but these tribes were exceedingly unwilling to interrupt their repose. They alleged that, when they concluded a treaty, they did so with an intention to keep it; while the Europeans seemed to enter into such engagements solely with the view of immediately breaking them. One chief, with the rude freedom of his nation, intimated his suspicion that the nations were both drunk. They did little, therefore, of themselves, or by their own impulse; and when called upon to join an expedition, came slowly and reluctantly forward.

De Vaudreuil, in contemplation of a formidable attack, sought to dissipate it by an offensive movement. He sent out a detachment 200 strong, which, after a long march, succeeded in storming and destroying a frontier village named Hewreuil; though while returning they fell into an ambuscade. Thirty of their number were killed; but, having beaten off their assailants, the remainder reached Montreal in safety.*

In May 1709, an individual named Vetch, who had become intimately acquainted with the navigation of the St Lawrence, laid before the cabinet of Queen Anne a plan for the conquest of Canada. It being approved, he was sent to New York, then called Manhattan, with authority and resources supposed sufficient for its accomplishment. De Vaudreuil soon learned that 2000

* Heriot, pp. 363, 364, 388, 397.

English had issued from the place just mentioned, and that these were to be joined by an equal number of savages. Having mustered his troops, he at first thought of carrying war again into the enemy's country; but after the march had begun, his allies objected, and he adopted the more prudent course of merely protecting his frontier. The British, after forming a chain of posts from New York, had occupied in great force Lakes George and Champlain, and were erecting forts, with a view to cover their descent upon Canada. The Iroquois had joined them according to promise; but it appears that a general council of the cantons was held at Onondago, when one of their chief orators remarked, that their independence was only maintained by the mutual jealousy of the two European nations, each of whom, if they could, would lord it completely over them, and that it was therefore highly imprudent to permit the English to conquer New France. These views were considered accordant with the policy which had always governed the cantons, and were immediately acted upon, though the manner in which this was accomplished does not very exactly appear. Our countrymen, however, in consequence of this want of co-operation, and of a pestilential disorder which broke out among their own troops, abandoned the enterprise, burning their canoes, and reducing their forts to ashes.*

Canada now enjoyed an interval of repose, though it was understood that the enemy were making active preparations for a fresh expedition, and sparing no pains to secure the co-operation of the Five Nations. All means of conciliation were therefore studiously employed, and were so far successful as to obtain friendly professions from the Senekas and the Onondagoes, but from them alone. At this time, however, the French were involved in a desperate struggle in the upper territory,

* A report has generally prevailed that the Iroquois caused this malady by throwing the skins of wild beasts into the stream out of which the English drank; but we cannot think this a very probable story.

with a nation hitherto unheard of, called the Outagamis or Foxes. This they ascribe to the machinations of their old antagonists, who yet do not appear to have taken any share in the contest. By the aid of a large body of Indian allies, these people were reduced to the necessity of humbly soliciting terms of peace. But the subjects of Louis were persuaded by their savage auxiliaries to push matters to the last extremity; and after a fresh and dreadful struggle, this unfortunate tribe was nearly exterminated. The victors, notwithstanding, had reason to repent of their barbarous conduct, as the remnant of the defeated nation carried on against them a ceaseless and harassing warfare, and rendered insecure their communication with the settlements on the Mississippi.*

The English in 1710 prepared a new and greater armament. General Nicholson arrived at Boston with a considerable squadron; and fresh forces were expected, which, with those already in the colony, were to be employed in two joint expeditions, by sea against Quebec and by land against Montreal. Notwithstanding every possible preparation, these tidings excited deep apprehension, which continued unabated till a report arrived, and proved ultimately correct, that the invading squadron had been wrecked at the Seven Islands, near the mouth of the St Lawrence. Several barks having sailed thither, found the remains of eight vessels, which having struck upon the rocks, had been abandoned, after being stripped of their cannon and stores. A number of dead bodies scattered along the shore attested this calamitous event. The commander, impatient to proceed, and disregarding the warning of an experienced pilot, had involved his armament in this disaster. General Nicholson had already taken the field, but learning the loss of the fleet, and foreseeing that the whole force of the enemy would now be turned against him, he fell back upon New York.†

Though Canada had thus been twice delivered, intelligence was received that fresh preparations were

* Heriot, p. 397-416. † Ibid. p. 399-404.

making, and there was reason to fear that, if left without aid, she would at length be overwhelmed by superior forces. The governor, however, was relieved by the intelligence that, in consequence of a complete change of ministry, the English cabinet had determined to separate from its allies, and had opened a negotiation at Utrecht. Instructions were sent to the colonial councils to suspend hostilities. Both the European powers being favourably inclined, the negotiations proceeded smoothly, and on the 30th March 1713 this memorable treaty was signed. France retained Canada, though obliged, by the urgency of her circumstances, to cede Acadia and Newfoundland. She made over likewise all her claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations; a very empty concession, by which she gave that which she had never possessed, and England received a nominal right which she could not enforce.*

After this treaty, Canada enjoyed a long period of uninterrupted tranquillity. The observations of Charlevoix, who visited the principal settlements during the years 1720 and 1721, give a pretty good idea of their condition at that period. Quebec was estimated to contain about 7000 inhabitants; both the lower and upper town were partially built, but none of the extensive suburbs appear to have then existed. The view from the summit of the rock appeared to him extremely striking, and anticipating the change, since partly fulfilled, when the surrounding shores and islands, then covered with almost unbroken forests, should display cultivated fields, meadows, and villages, with numberless barks studding the broad expanse of the St Lawrence, he expects it to form a prospect which nothing could equal. The society, composed in a great measure of military officers and noblesse, was extremely agreeable; and nowhere was the French language spoken in greater purity. Under this gay exterior, however, was concealed a very general poverty. The settlers, while they admitted that their English neighbours knew better how to accumulate wealth,

* Heriot, pp. 418, 419.

were consoled by reflecting that they were quite ignorant how to enjoy it. They themselves, on the contrary, understood thoroughly the most elegant and agreeable modes of spending money, but were greatly at a loss where to obtain it. The only employment suited to their taste was the fur-trade, the roving and adventurous habits of which were extremely attractive to them, and little fortunes were thereby occasionally made; but they were in such haste to expend these in pleasure and display, that the author compares them to hillocks of sand in the deserts of Africa, which rise and disappear almost at the same moment. Many, who had made a handsome figure, were now languishing in distress. They began by retrenching the luxury of their table, and, as long as possible, were richly dressed. The patient and laborious process of agriculture had drawn little attention, and the timber-trade was yet in its infancy, though the author points out the great importance which it was capable of attaining. The absence of gold and silver, almost the only objects then considered as giving lustre to a colony, had always caused New France to be viewed as of very secondary importance.*

The coasts of the St Lawrence, for some extent below Quebec, were already laid out in seigniories, and tolerably cultivated. At Pointe aux Trembles, seven leagues from the capital, many of the farmers were found in easy circumstances, and richer than their landlords; the latter, having obtained grants which they had neither capital nor industry to improve, were obliged to let them at very small quit-rents. On reaching the mouth of the Beçancour, he found a baron bearing the title of that river, and holding the office of inspector of the highways. He lived almost in a desert, and derived his income chiefly from traffic with the neighbouring Indians. Thence Charlevoix crossed to Trois Rivières, which he found an agreeable place, amid a circuit of well-cultivated fields, but not containing more than 300 inhabitants. The fur-trade, with a view to which it was founded,

* Charlevoix's Journal, vol. i. pp. 104, 111-114, 121-125, 145, 263-265.

had already been in a great measure transferred to Montreal, and the iron-mines had not yet begun to be worked.

From Trois Rivières he proceeded through the Lake of St Peter, and, coasting along its southern shore, made particular observations on the river and district of St Francis. From its excellent soil, covered with timber, it appeared to him well fitted for cultivation; but the farmers were few, and had made such small progress, that, but for the opportunities of trade, they would have been extremely poor. A more cheerful scene presented itself at the island and city of Montreal, the beauties of which he describes in terms similar to those of all subsequent visiters. He does not make any estimate of the population; but it must have been considerable, as both the upper and lower towns were already built, and a suburb had been commenced. The place was then enjoying a respite from the alarms and calamities of war; and the two neighbouring villages of Sault St Louis and Montgomery, inhabited by friendly Indians, served as barriers against their more savage countrymen.*

Above Montreal, the traveller appears to have found nothing but detached stations for defence and trade. He made his way through the rapids to Lake Ontario, in Indian canoes formed of birch-bark. We find no mention of any thing French till he comes to Fort Cataraqui or Frontenac, at the entrance of the lake; but in his short description there is no appearance as if the neighbourhood contained either cultivation or settlement. He had then a tedious voyage to perform along the southern shore in slender canoes, in which he was obliged to follow every winding of the coast, and often to sail two hundred leagues in order to shun a direct passage of twenty. He was liable also to be detained for an indefinite period by violent or adverse winds. At length he entered the river of Niagara, and came to a cottage which had been dignified to him with the name of fortress, and was occupied by the Sieur de Joncaire. There were two or three

* Charlevoix, Journal, vol. i. pp. 172-178, 190, 213-218.

officers of rank, and, we presume, a few troops, but apparently no trace of cultivation.*

After having surveyed the falls, he ascended the channel of Niagara, and having entered upon Lake Erie, proceeded along its northern shore. The voyage appeared to him delightful, in a charming climate, on waters clear as the purest fountain, and landing every night on the most desirable spots. He found always abundance of game, and a beautiful landscape, bounded by the noblest forests in the world. He fancied himself, like the ancient patriarchs, wandering through wide unappropriated tracts, where he could pitch his tent in the most pleasant scenes. The oaks of Mamre and the fountain of Jacob seemed realized to him in the wilderness. Five days' sail along these beautiful shores brought him to the channel of Detroit, at the other end of which, near Lake St Clair, he found the fort bearing that name. He inclined to the opinion of those who regarded this as the most beautiful and fruitful part of all Canada. A French settlement had been begun there fifteen years before, but various untoward circumstances had reduced it almost to nothing. He proceeded thence to Michillimakinac, near the adjoining extremities of the great lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan. Like the others, it was a mere fort surrounded by an Indian village. On the whole, it appears that, above Montreal, there was nothing at this time which could be called a colony.†

The repose procured for Canada by the treaty of Utrecht was followed by a long continuance of prosperity. Vaudreuil, till his death in 1725, administered her affairs with judgment and activity; and under him cultivation was greatly extended. To remedy the want of hands, he proposed sending out annually 150 convicts, of the class usually condemned to the galleys.

This governor was succeeded by the Chevalier de Beauharnois, who continued in power twenty years. This long period seems to have been diligently employed in promoting the interests of the colony, and was

* Charlevoix, Journal, vol. i. pp. 293-297, 312-316, 341.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 3-7.

productive of a remarkable improvement. The range of cultivated farms was extended along the whole shore from Quebec to Montreal, and even several of the tributary streams. As the French Canadians studiously sought a river-frontage, they were content with lots including only a small portion of this, with extensive background. The proportion, in some degree fixed by statute, was an acre and a half in front, with an extent of forty behind. In the course of this period, too, the settlement at Detroit, which Charlevoix had found in such a languishing state, was raised to some consequence.

The French, likewise, during this interval, appear to have entirely overcome that rooted enmity so long cherished by the great Indian tribes. Their pliant and courteous manners, their frequent intermarriages, and in some instances an actual adoption of the habits of savage life, rendered them better fitted than the English to secure the confidence of this savage race. Instead of having to dread them as allies of Britain, they could usually, when occasion required, employ them as formidable, or, at least, harassing enemies to her. By their aid, and by the erection in commanding positions of the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderago, they kept the rival colonies in perpetual alarm. The struggles, however, carried on during almost the first half of the eighteenth century were chiefly confined to Nova Scotia, under which head they will be narrated. Canada enjoyed a happy exemption from those eventful vicissitudes which form the materials of history.

An equally favourable change took place in respect to the fur-trade, which had shown so great a preference of the English market. A more liberal and equitable system appears to have been adopted; and a large annual fair, opened at Montreal under judicious regulations, became the general centre of this traffic. Even the Indians in the back settlements of New York brought their furs thither, rather than to the capital of that state.*

* M'Gregor's British America, vol. ii. p. 374. Burke's Account of the European Settlements in America (2 vols 8vo, London, 1808), vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

M. de Beauharnois was followed in office by a rapid succession of governors, each holding sway for an extremely short period incompatible with any steady system of administration. The Count de la Galissonière, though a nobleman of great acquirements, ruled only a year, being superseded in 1746 by M. de la Jonquière, who took an active part in the war for the reduction of Nova Scotia. After a temporary occupation of power by the Baron de Longueuil, the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, went out as governor-general. This officer appears to have carried on more openly than ever the system of encroaching upon the British colonies; and the fort bearing his name was erected within the confines of Virginia. So great an alarm indeed spread through our settlements, that a general convention was held at Albany, when a plan of common defence, proposed by the celebrated Dr Franklin, was approved, but, from different causes, never carried into effect. A census taken of the colony in 1753, is said by Raynal to have shown a population of 91,000; but, from the number afterwards found by the English, this appears to be somewhat exaggerated. The finances were, however, involved in considerable disorder. The expenditure, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 francs, had risen in 1750 to 2,100,000 livres; in 1758 it was 27,900,000; but this last, we may observe, was a period of general war, of which North America became one of the principal theatres. The conduct of Bigot the intendant was loudly complained of, and proved indeed to have been most fraudulent, his defalcations amounting to £400,000 sterling. In 1755, Du Quesne was succeeded by De Vaudreuil Cavagnal.*

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 375-381. Raynal, Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes (4 vols 4to, Geneva, 1780), vol. iv. pp. 125, 137. Hawkins' Picture of Quebec (18mo, Quebec 1834), pp. 316, 317.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Canada under the British.

War between Great Britain and France—Advantages gained by the latter—Expedition against Canada under Wolfe—His first Repulse—Lands a second Time—Victory—Death—Conquest of Canada—State of the Population—Their good Treatment—Refuse to join the Rebellion by the United Colonies—The latter invade Canada—Siege of Quebec—Repulse and Death of Montgomery—Americans driven out of Canada—A Constitution granted—Division into Upper and Lower—Rise of Internal Dissension—War with the United States—Advantages gained by Britain on the western Frontier—On the Niagara, &c.—The Americans take York (Toronto) and Fort George—Obliged to retreat—Their Successes in the West—Fruitless Attempt on Montreal—Events on the Niagara Frontier—Large Reinforcements from England—Failure of Sir George Prevost—Peace—Discontents of the Assembly—Administration of the Duke of Richmond—Earl of Dalhousie—Sir James Kempt—Lord Aylmer—Increased Discontent—Commission of Inquiry—Earl of Gosford—Assembly still refuse Supplies—Resolutions of the British Parliament—Disturbances in Canada—Insurrection—Suppressed—Political Movements in Upper Canada—Sir Francis Head Governor—Rising and Defeat of Mackenzie—Aggressions from the United States—Conduct of their Government—Mission of the Earl of Durham—Recent Events.

We now approach the most memorable period in the history of Canada, when its dominion was finally transferred from France to a rival power. As the events of this contest, however, though extremely memorable, form a portion of general history, and are familiar to many readers, we shall here content ourselves with a rapid summary of them.

The great war which broke out in 1755 opened in a manner most unfavourable to the British arms. Gene-

ral Braddock, who marched from New York against Canada, having neglected the precautions necessary in such a country, was completely surprised by a combined force of French and Indians. He himself being killed, only part of the army was saved by the skill and intrepidity of Colonel (afterwards General) Washington, who on that occasion distinguished himself for the first time. His troops being afterwards joined to the provincial force under Generals Shirley and Johnson, repulsed near Lake George an attack made by a large body of the enemy under Baron Dieskau. Johnson having acquitted himself with great ability, and received several wounds, was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, and was long much esteemed in American warfare.* But in the two following years the enemy, headed by the gallant Marquis de Montcalm, obtained a series of successes, terminating in the reduction of the important forts called Oswego and William Henry. This last triumph was stained with the barbarous murder, by the Indians, of fifteen hundred English prisoners; which Montcalm, though it should seem unjustly, was accused of sanctioning. These disasters, joined to the failure of Byng at Minorca, and other abortive expeditions, deeply depressed the spirit of the nation, and seemed to sink their reputation in arms lower than at any former period. Yet the courage of the British lion was soon afterwards roused: the public voice called to the helm of affairs William Pitt, the greatest statesman then living, and who was destined to raise her name to a pitch of glory before unrivalled.

It was one of the main objects of Pitt's policy to obtain possession of the French territories in America, and to form them, together with the British colonies, into one vast range of dominion. He chose as his chief instrument Wolfe, a young man without family or parliamentary interest, or even any established character as a commander. He had served only in subordinate situa-

* Hawkins, pp. 318, 319. Bouchette, vol. i. p. 440.

tions; yet the minister, with intuitive sagacity, saw in him the man best fitted to lead British troops to victory.* In the expedition against Louisburg, in 1758, the most active though not the highest post was assigned to him, and, through his exertions chiefly, that main bulwark of French America fell. After the great name thus earned, there could no longer be any objection to investing him with the chief command.

In 1759 preparations were made on a great scale for the conquest of Canada; comprising twenty sail of the line, with smaller vessels and transports, having on board 8000 veteran troops. These were placed under the direction of Wolfe, who was allowed the choice of all his officers. After a prosperous voyage the armament, on the 26th June, arrived off the Isle of Orleans. Quebec was defended by the Marquis de Montcalm, having under his command 13,000 men, of whom indeed only 2000 were regular troops, the rest being Canadian militia, with a few Indians. The attack having been long foreseen, full time was given him to entrench and strengthen his position. An attempt was first made to destroy the British fleet by fire-ships; but these were caught with grappling irons, towed aside, and allowed to burn out without doing any injury. Brigadier-general Monckton then occupied Point Levi, opposite to the capital, which was thence bombarded with vigour; but, though a number of houses were destroyed, the defences remained almost uninjured. The place therefore could only be carried by storming the entrenchments which the French had thrown up in front of it. This bold measure Wolfe resolved to adopt, and on the 31st July he effected a landing. The boats, however, had met with an accidental delay; the grenadiers, it is said, rushed forward with too blind and impetuous a valour; Montcalm, strongly posted between Quebec and Montmorenci, poured in upon them a destructive fire; the Indian rifle told with fatal effect; and the assailants were finally repulsed with the loss of 182 killed and 650 wounded.

* Entick's History of the late War, vol. iv. p. 91.

Wolfe felt this disappointment so deeply that his delicate frame was thrown into a violent fever; and in a despatch to Mr Pitt he afterwards expressed the apprehensions under which he laboured. The fleet, his strongest arm, could not act against the wall of rock on which Quebec is seated; and with his weakened force he had to storm fortified positions defended by troops more numerous than his own. As soon, however, as his health permitted, he called a council of war, desired the general officers to consult together; and, it is said, proposed to them a second attack on the French lines, avoiding the errors which had led to the failure of the first. They were decidedly of opinion that this was inexpedient; but on the suggestion, as is now believed, of Brigadier-general Townsend the second in command, they proposed to attempt a point on the other side of Quebec, where the enemy were yet unprepared, and whence they might gain the Heights of Abraham which overlooked the city. Wolfe assented, and applied all his powers to the accomplishment of this plan. Such active demonstrations were made against Montcalm's original position, that he believed it still the main object; and though he observed detachments moving up the river, merely sent De Bougainville with 2000 men to Cape Rouge, a position too distant, being nine miles above Quebec. On the night of the 12th September, in deep silence, the troops were embarked and conveyed in two divisions to the place now named Wolfe's Cove. The precipice here was so steep, that even the general for a moment doubted the possibility of scaling it; but Fraser's Highlanders, grasping the bushes which grew on its face, soon reached the summit, and in a short time he had his whole army drawn up in regular order on the plains above. Montcalm, struck by this unexpected intelligence, at once concluded that, unless the English could be driven from this position, Quebec was lost; and, hoping probably that only a detachment had yet reached it, pushed forward at once to the attack. About 1500 light

infantry and Indians arrived first, and began a desultory fire from among the bushes; but the British reserved their shot for the main body, which was seen advancing behind. They came forward in good order, and commenced a brisk attack; yet no general fire was opened in return till they were within forty yards, when it could be followed up by the bayonet. The first volley was decisive; Wolfe and Montcalm both fell almost at the same moment; the French instantly gave way in every quarter; and repeated charges, in which the Highland broadsword was powerfully wielded, soon completed the victory. As soon as Wolfe received his mortal wound, he said, "Support me! let not my brave soldiers see me drop." He was carried to some distance in the rear,—and hearing the cry "They run!" he asked "Who run?" Being told "The enemy," he gave some short directions, and then said: "Now, God be praised, I die happy!" We cannot forbear quoting the simple and feeling observations of General Townsend respecting his heroic friend, whose fate threw so affecting a lustre on this memorable victory: "I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe; our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honour. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned length of life."

The battle had scarcely closed when De Bougainville appeared in the rear, but on seeing the fortune of the day, immediately retreated. On the 17th a flag of truce came out, and on the 18th a capitulation was concluded on honourable terms to the French, who were not made prisoners, but conveyed home to their native country.*

* Entick's History of the late War, vol. iv. p. 85-118. Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, pp. 331, 359, 373, 374.

Canada was not yet conquered. General Amherst, indeed, marching from New York with a large force, had reduced the strong posts of Ticonderago and Crown Point; while General Prideaux, aided by Sir William Johnson with a body of Indians, had taken Niagara. But the winter arrested their farther advance; and General de Levi, who had assembled at Montreal upwards of 10,000 men, conceived the design of recapturing Quebec in the spring, before it could obtain succours, either by sea or land. Being baffled in his projects to carry it by a *coup de main,* he landed his army on the 27th April 1760, advanced to the heights of Abraham, and prepared to carry on a regular siege. General Murray had been left with a garrison of 6000 men; but a severe attack of scurvy had reduced to half that number those who were capable of bearing arms. This officer, dreading that the place was unfit to stand a siege, and hoping much from the bravery of his troops, attacked the enemy on the 28th April at Sillery; but, being overpowered by superior numbers, he was defeated with great loss. If guilty here of any rashness, he atoned for it by the activity with which he placed Quebec in a state of defence, and held out the town till the 15th May, when a fleet, under Admiral Swanton, arrived and raised the siege. The French army then concentrated itself in Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil made an attempt to maintain his ground; but being enclosed by the forces under General Amherst, and by those from Quebec and Niagara, he found himself obliged, on the 8th September 1760, to sign a capitulation, by which that city and the whole of Canada were transferred to British dominion. He obtained liberal stipulations for the good treatment of the inhabitants, and particularly the free exercise of the Catholic faith; and the preservation of the property belonging to the religious communities. He even demanded that the bishop should continue to be appointed by the French monarch, but this was of course refused.* The possession of Canada, as well as of all

* Hawkins, p. 410-413. Entick, vol. iv. pp. 473, 474.

the adjoining countries, was confirmed to Britain by the peace of Paris, signed on the 10th February 1763.

The population at the time of the conquest was stated by Governor Murray to amount to 69,275, consisting mostly of cultivators, a frugal, industrious, and moral race; with a noblesse, also very poor, but much respected among them. The Indians converted to Catholicism were estimated at 7400.* The inhabitants were involved in great calamity by the refusal of the French government to pay the bills drawn and the paper currency issued by M. Bigot, the late intendant, already mentioned as having been guilty of most extensive peculation. The gross sum is stated by Raynal at 80,000,000 of livres (£3,333,000 sterling); but, considering the small number and poverty of the people, we cannot help suspecting it to be much exaggerated. It is said that the claims were, on grounds of equity, reduced to 38,000,000; though, according to M'Gregor, no more was received in return for them than £250,000 in money, and £125,000 in bonds, which never became effective.†

The terms in favour of the French residents were faithfully, and even liberally, fulfilled by our government. All offices, however, were conferred on British subjects, who then consisted only of military men, with not quite 500 petty traders, many of whom were ill fitted for so important a situation. They showed a bigoted spirit, and an offensive contempt of the old inhabitants, including even their class of nobles. General Murray, notwithstanding, strenuously protected the latter, without regard to repeated complaints made against him to the ministry at home; and by this impartial conduct he gained their confidence in a degree which became conspicuous on occasion of the great revolt of the United Colonies. During that momentous period, though pressingly invited to assist the latter, the Canadians never swerved from their allegiance. With

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 382.
† Raynal, vol. v. p. 230. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 381.

a view to conciliate them, the "Quebec Act," passed in 1774, changed the English civil law, which had been at first introduced, for the ancient system called the *coutume de Paris*. The French language was also directed to be employed in the law-courts, and other changes made with the view of gratifying that nation. These concessions did not, however, give universal satisfaction, especially as they were not attended with any grant of a national representation.

The Americans, finding all their proposals rejected, determined to view Canada as a hostile country. They observed that the British, almost entirely occupied in the attempt to put down the insurrection, had left this country very slightly defended. In September 1775 two expeditions were fitted out, which were distinguished by tragical events, as well as by the brilliant and romantic valour of their chiefs. While the main body, under Montgomery, marched by Lake Champlain upon Montreal, Arnold, with 1100 men, sailed up the Kennebeck, and proceeded through the vast forest that stretches between it and the St Lawrence, hoping to surprise Quebec. The sufferings of the party were extreme, being obliged to eat dogs' flesh and the leather of their cartouch-boxes. Yet they arrived, on the 9th November, at Point Levi, without any alarm having reached the capital; but all the shipping had fortunately been removed from that side. Arnold was thus unable to cross, and in twenty-four hours the inhabitants were apprized of the danger. On the 14th that active officer contrived to pass the river and occupy the heights of Abraham, though his force was too small for active movements, till joined by Montgomery. This commander sent forward a reconnoitring party under Colonel Ethan Allen, who made a brave but rash attempt on Montreal, in which he was taken with his party, and afterwards sent in irons to England. Montgomery, however, having reduced the posts of St John and Chambly and made prisoners of their garrisons, which included a large proportion of the regular force

in Canada, that city was quite unable to resist; and General Carleton, the governor, with difficulty escaped in a boat with muffled paddles. The American leader then advanced upon Quebec, and took the command of the united force. Carleton had under arms only 1800 men, of whom not more than seventy were regulars; 230 of Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in the country, were re-embodied under Colonel M'Lean; the rest were British and Canadian militia, seamen, and others. The summons to surrender, however, was at once rejected; and Montgomery, after pushing the siege during the month of December without any prospect of success, determined to carry the place by a night-assault. On the 31st, two storming parties were formed,—one under himself and the other under Arnold. They were to advance from opposite sides, and meet at the foot of Mountain Street, then force Prescott Gate, and reach the upper town. The first battery encountered by Montgomery was defended chiefly by a party of Canadian militia, with nine British seamen to work the guns. Having received some previous notice, they were on the watch; and, about daybreak, saw amid the snow a body of troops in full march from Wolfe's Cove. Orders were given to make no movement; and the enemy having halted at the distance of fifty yards, sent forward an officer to reconnoitre, who found every thing perfectly still. On his return the Americans rushed forward in double quick time to the attack. When they were close to the spot, Captain Barnsfare, at the critical moment, gave the signal for a general discharge of guns and musketry. It told with unexpected and fatal effect; for, among many others, Montgomery himself, the gallant chief, fell, to rise no more. The troops, on witnessing this disaster, made a precipitate retreat.*

* This event has been very variously related. Hinton (History and Topography of the United States, 2 vols 4to, London, 1834, vol. i. 336) even represents it as a mere casual fire by which Montgomery was killed; but we have followed Hawkins, whose narrative appears to be the result of very careful research.

Meantime Arnold, from the opposite side, pushed on his attack with desperate resolution. In assaulting the first barrier, he received a severe wound in the leg, which obliged him to quit the field. But his party, led on by Captain Morgan, carried the post, and pushed on to a second. Here, however, their efforts were vain; and General Carleton having sent a detachment upon their rear, they were surrounded, and finally, to the number of 426, obliged to surrender. Neither of the parties thus reached the main point of attack at Prescott Gate, where the governor was stationed, with the determination to maintain it to the last extremity.

The British were not yet aware of all the results of the contest. As soon as the retreat of the first party was ascertained, they went out and collected, from under the snow which had already covered them, thirteen bodies. The surmise soon arose that one of them was that of the commander; yet some hours elapsed before an officer of Arnold's division identified him, with the deepest expressions of admiration and regret. Montgomery, a gentleman of good family in the north of Ireland, had served under Wolfe, but having afterwards formed a matrimonial connexion in America, he had adopted with enthusiasm the cause of the United States as that of liberty. His military character, joined to his private virtues, inspired general esteem, and has secured to him a place on the roll of noble and gallant chiefs who fell beneath the walls of Quebec.

Arnold succeeded to the command, and attempted still to maintain his ground; but the dispirited state of his men, still more than his actual loss, rendered him unable to keep up more than an imperfect blockade, at the distance of three miles. In April 1776, his place was taken by General Wooster, who brought a reinforcement, and made some fresh attempts, but without success. Early in May several vessels arrived from England with troops and supplies, on which the enemy raised the siege, and fell back upon Montreal. Thence they were driven

from post to post, till, on 18th June, they finally evacuated the province, on which they never made any farther attempt.*

This long war terminated, in 1783, by the independence of all the colonies which had united against Britain. The issue, unfavourable or at least mortifying to the mother country, was attended with considerable advantages to Canada; for a large body of loyalists, expatriated on account of their political principles, sought refuge in her territory. They received liberal grants of land, and laid the foundation of that prosperity which has since so eminently distinguished the upper province.

The country continued for some years in a state of progressive advancement, being only agitated by the desire, sometimes strongly expressed, of obtaining a representative government. In 1790 Mr Pitt determined to grant this boon on a basis as nearly as possible resembling that of the British Constitution. As a preliminary, it was resolved to divide Canada into two governments, Upper and Lower: and it is somewhat remarkable that this arrangement, so much deprecated by the present loyalist party, originated with the minister, who carried it through in the face of strong opposition from Fox and other Whig members. He considered that the attempt to unite two classes of population, so different in origin, language, and manners, would inevitably lead to disunion and dissension; while they argued, that this union would afford the best means of harmonizing them into one social system. Another question arose with regard to the constitution of the legislative council. Mr Pitt proposed to form it of an hereditary noblesse, to be created for the purpose, and to include the more respectable among the French seigneurs. Mr Fox recommended a representative council, or, in default of this, one composed of members chosen by the king for life. This last suggestion, though

* Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, pp. 424-434, 438. Hinton, vol. i. p. 344.

not at first well received by the premier, was the plan ultimately adopted.

The first House of Assembly, consisting of fifty members, was opened in 1792 by Lieutenant-governor Clarke. Their proceedings were for some time of no great importance. In 1797 Lord Dorchester, who had been governor since 1786, was succeeded by General Prescott. Loud complaints were soon afterwards made respecting the granting of lands, the Board for that purpose having appropriated large districts to themselves, and thereby obstructed the general settlement of the country. In 1800 Sir Robert S. Milnes was appointed lieutenant-governor. In 1803 a decision of the Chief Justice of Montreal declared slavery inconsistent with the laws of the country, and the few individuals in that condition received a grant of freedom. In 1807, apprehensions being felt of war with America, Sir James Craig, an officer of distinction, was sent out to superintend the affairs of the colony.

About this time began those internal dissensions which have since so generally agitated the colony. The House of Assembly, though meeting regularly, do not seem previously to have aimed at the exercise of any high powers, or to have obstructed the governor in the discretionary exercise of his authority. But at this epoch they appear to have formed the design of rendering themselves independent, and even of controlling the executive. With the former view they demanded that the judges should be expelled from their body, as being dependent upon and removable by government. To gain the latter object, they offered to defray from the funds of the colony the whole expense of the civil administration. Although this was a boon, and unasked for, yet on account of its apprehended purpose it was repelled with indignation, and the Assembly soon afterwards dissolved. The novel exercise of a free press by a newspaper called "the Canadian," in attacking the measures of government, was severely checked; the printer was sent to prison, and all his materials destroyed. Six individuals were also taken into custody, though never brought to

trial. These proceedings gave to this period the appellation of the "Reign of Terror."*

In 1811 a new Assembly was called, which did not show itself more compliant. In the autumn of that year, however, Sir George Prevost, a more popular governor, assumed the reins of administration; and circumstances soon after occurred which induced the Canadians to suspend their complaints, and to make displays of loyalty as ardent as if they had never been dissatisfied.

The war commenced by the United States against Britain in 1812 produced a formidable crisis in the history of Canada, especially of the upper province. It is not proposed to enter into any discussion of the grounds or merits of the hostile resolution adopted by Congress. Doubtless, however, as Britain then stood, with her whole disposable force engaged against Napoleon, they calculated with full confidence on obtaining possession of the Canadas, and, indeed, of all British America. Dr Eustis, secretary at war, said in Congress, "We can take the Canadas without soldiers: we have only to send officers into the provinces; and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard." Mr Clay added, "It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean.—We must take the continent from them. I wish never to see a peace till we do."† A similar impression prevailed in the colony itself, defended then by only 4500 troops, of whom not more than 1450 were in the upper province, though the most exposed, and presenting the most extended frontier. Not a few were inclined on the first alarm to pack up and quit the country; but Sir George Prevost, seconded by the majority

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 443, 445. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 391. Roebuck on Existing Difficulties in the Administration of the Canadas (London, 1836), p. 6.

† James' Military Occurrences of the late War (2 vols 8vo, London, 1818), vol. i. p. 77.

of the inhabitants, adopted a more spirited resolution. The militia were called out; Quebec was garrisoned by the citizens; and the frontier placed in a state of defence.*

The States, though they had plunged into hostilities so eagerly and with such sanguine anticipations, were by no means in a forward state of preparation. Few of the officers who had distinguished themselves in the war of independence survived the lapse of nearly thirty years.† General Hull, however, one of these veterans, was sent with a force of 2500 men to open the campaign on the western frontier of Upper Canada. On the 5th of July 1812 he arrived at Detroit, and on the 12th crossed the river and took possession of Sandwich, whence he issued a proclamation inviting the colonists to join him, or at least to remain neutral. He announced that no quarter would be given to a white man fighting by the side of an Indian, though this is said never to have been acted upon. Having no cannon mounted, he did not think it practicable to attack Fort Malden, which covered Amherstburg, where Lieutenant-colonel St George with his small force was posted. Hull, however, pushed forward detachments into the country, which gained some advantages and induced a few of the inhabitants to join them. But his prospects were soon clouded. Captain Roberts, with a small detachment, had early reduced the Fort of Michillimakinac, which "opened upon him the northern hive of Indians." Almost the whole of that race, indignant at the encroachments of the Americans upon their territory, eagerly espoused the British cause, and poured in from every quarter to support it. Meantime General Brock, having embarked all the troops that could be spared from the Niagara frontier, arrived on the 12th August at Amherstburg, where he mustered about 330 regulars,

* Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies (5 vols 8vo, London, 1834), vol. iii. p. 188.

† Carey and Lea, Geography, &c. of America (8vo, London, 1823), p. 59.

400 militia, and 600 Indians. Hull, whose force, weakened by sickness and by sending away two detachments, is said not to have exceeded 800 effective men, retreated across the river, withdrawing the cannon prepared for the siege of Amherstburg, and shut himself up in Detroit. General Brock instantly crossed, advanced upon the fort, and prepared for an immediate assault; but a white flag then appeared from the walls, and a capitulation was quickly signed, by which the whole American force, including the detachments, were surrendered prisoners of war. The Canadian citizens, who had despondingly anticipated speedy conquest, were not a little surprised to see in less than three months the whole army destined for that object marched in as captives. Loud complaints were made by the Americans against the conduct of Hull, who was afterwards tried and condemned to be shot, though spared on account of his age and former services.*

The Americans made great efforts to obtain a more fortunate result on the Niagara frontier. Though the New England States, disapproving of the war, withheld their militia, yet early in September more than 6000 men were brought to the banks of the river, with the view of crossing it and penetrating into Canada. They were encouraged by the exploit of two row-boats, which captured the same number of British gun-brigs with valuable cargoes as they were passing Fort Erie. The troops are represented as filled with enthusiastic confidence, urging and almost compelling General Van Rensselaer, their commander, to commence active operations. Accordingly, after one abortive attempt he succeeded, on the morning of 13th October, in pushing across to Queenston a detachment which, being well reinforced, gained possession of the heights. General Brock having come up, resolved to check their progress, but making his advance with too small a force he was repulsed and killed,

* James, vol. i. pp. 56-58, 374-376, 72, 73. Martin, vol. iii. p. 109. Brackenridge's History of the late War (12mo, 6th edition, Philadelphia, 1836), p. 32-41.

closing his brilliant career by a glorious death. Van Rensselaer, however, complains that when he returned to the other side, the heroes, who the day before had boasted so loudly, having now witnessed an actual engagement, though a successful one, were seized with such a panic that neither commands nor threats could induce one of them to enter the boats. Meantime General Sheaffe, having brought up the main force of the British from Fort George, and being joined by a body of Indians, with a detachment from Chippeway, attacked the enemy; and, after a sharp contest of half an hour, compelled the whole, amounting to above 900, to surrender at discretion.*

The Americans made yet another attempt to retrieve this unfortunate campaign. General Smyth, who succeeded Van Rensselaer, had assembled on the 27th November 4500 men in the vicinity of Black Rock. Early on the following morning, two detachments succeeded in crossing, and after a long and confused fight in the dark, drove in with loss the British outposts; but when day broke, and Lieutenant-colonel Bisshopp had collected about 600 regulars and militia, they hastily retired to the other side, leaving a party of thirty to fall into the hands of the English. Another division began to cross; but some rounds of musketry and artillery induced them to return. In the course of the day, after a vain summons to surrender Fort Erie, nearly half the force was embarked; though in the afternoon the postponement of the enterprise was announced. After several days of uncertain councils, it was finally decided that the expedition should be abandoned for the season. The troops are said to have displayed the fiercest indignation, threatening even the person of their commander, whom they named General Van Bladder; but whether their courage would have been equally conspicuous in the hour of trial their former conduct leaves some room to question.†

* James, vol. i. pp. 81, 376, 377, 382-384. Brackenridge, p. 65-69.
† Ibid. pp. 110-120, 388, 389.

The severity of the season caused a suspension of operations scarcely interrupted unless by an attack on Ogdensburg by Captain M'Donnell, who, crossing the St Lawrence on the ice, drove out the garrison, and obtained possession of eleven pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of stores. The Americans meantime were making extraordinary exertions to open the new campaign under better auspices. At Sackett's Harbour, on the southern shore of Ontario, a naval armament was equipped, which gave them for some time the control of that fine lake. A large force had been assembled and placed under a new commander, General Dearborn. The plan of this campaign was limited to the conquest of Upper Canada, the achievement of which, as that country was defended by only 2100 troops, was considered beyond the reach of chance. On the 25th April 1813, the general with Commodore Chauncey embarked about 2000 men, and sailed to York (Toronto), the rising capital of the province. It was then very ill prepared for resistance, scarcely at all fortified, and defended by General Sheaffe with only about 600 men. On the morning of the 27th they reached the place and succeeded in landing, when, after a brave defence protracted till two o'clock, the English were obliged to abandon the town. The invaders suffered chiefly by the explosion of a mine, which killed or wounded about 260, including among the former General Pike, a young officer of distinguished merit, who had planned and conducted the attack. After burning all the public buildings, they carried off the artillery and naval stores, and by the 1st May evacuated the place.*

The next enterprise was still more important, being directed against Fort George, near Newark, at the entrance of the Niagara channel, considered the chief military position in the country. Nearly the whole force was employed, a small part only being left to defend Sackett's Harbour. Brigadier-general Vincent, on the other hand, had

* James, pp. 136-149, 397-406. Brackenridge, p. 102-105.

only a British detachment of about 1000 regulars and 300 militia; and Newark had been exposed to so severe a fire from the American fort on the opposite side, that it was no longer defensible. The enemy, therefore, could be resisted only by opposing his landing, or by beating him afterwards in the field. When Commodore Chauncey, on the 27th May, disembarked 4000 men under Dearborn and Lewis, both these operations were attempted; but, after a long and severe contest, were rendered unavailing by the superior numbers of the invaders. Vincent was obliged, after calling in the garrisons of Chippeway and Fort Erie, to retreat first to the Beaver Dams, and then to Burlington Heights, near the western extremity of Lake Ontario. The victors could not intercept his retreat, but they established for the first time a regular lodgement in Canada.*

Meantime a respectable naval force having been organized at Kingston by Sir James Yeo, Sir George Prevost, the governor, was prevailed upon to employ it in the attack of Sackett's Harbour, defended only by a small party, while the main body of the enemy was employed against Fort George. He sailed on the 27th of May, with about 750 men; but on approaching, showed considerable hesitation, and even gave orders for a return to Kingston, till, encouraged by the success of the Indians in capturing twelve boats with seventy dragoons, he succeeded in effecting a landing on the morning of the 29th. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, he drove the enemy before him, till they took shelter in a log-barrack and stockaded fort. Thence they kept up such a destructive fire, that General Prevost, considering it impossible to force the position, and panic-struck, it is said, by a false alarm raised by General Brown in his rear, ordered a retreat. Much difference of opinion, however, prevailed among the officers. Major Drummond is reported to have said: "A few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." He was ordered to

* James, vol. i. pp. 151-164, 407-412. Brackenridge, p. 108-112.

obey; upon which discontent and a want of confidence in the commander-in-chief became general, and had a most injurious effect on the subsequent operations.*

Fortune, so favourable to the Americans at the opening of the campaign, did not continue so throughout. Extraordinary exertions were made in the western states, particularly Kentucky. Two corps were formed, and despatched under Generals Winchester and Harrison to march in different lines through Michigan; then to unite and co-operate in recovering Detroit, and invading the adjoining districts. Winchester, suspected of a desire to achieve something before yielding the command to his coadjutor, advanced with about 1000 men to Frenchtown, within twenty-six miles of Detroit. Colonel Proctor, justly appreciating the importance of attacking him before the junction, hastily collected all the force within his reach, amounting to about 500 whites and 450 Indians. With these, on the 22d January 1813, he succeeded in bringing the enemy to action. They made an obstinate resistance, and being posted in houses and enclosures, caused considerable loss to the assailants; but they were ultimately overpowered, and nearly all made prisoners. The general himself was among the number, having fallen into the hands of a Wyandot Indian, who stripped off his uniform, adorned his own person with it, and could not without great difficulty be induced to make restitution.†

General Harrison, on receiving intelligence of this disaster, took up a position near the rapids of the Miami to await reinforcements. Colonel Proctor felt equally the importance of attacking him before their arrival. Having assembled about 1000 regulars and militia and 1200 Indians, he embarked them at Amherstburg on the 23d April, then sailed across Lake Erie, and up the Miami. Many delays, however, occurred, by which the enemy was enabled so to strengthen his position, that the attack made on the 1st May had

* James, vol. i. pp. 165-176, 413-416.
† Ibid. pp. 184-189, 416-425. Brackenridge, pp. 88, 89.

very little effect. The Americans were then encouraged to assume the offensive, which they did with large bodies of troops, partly landed from the river, partly sallying from the fort. At first they gained possession of the British batteries; but they were then attacked at different points with such decisive success, that upwards of a thousand were killed or taken, and the rest with difficulty found refuge within the intrenchments. These Proctor found himself still unable to storm; but he had so weakened the enemy's force as to remove all immediate danger of invasion.*

Let us now return to the main theatre of operations on the Niagara frontier, where we have seen the British driven before the enemy to Burlington Heights. Dearborn immediately sent forward Generals Chandler and Winder, with 4000 men, to destroy if possible this shattered remnant; a success which would have been followed by the conquest of all the western provinces. On the 5th June they took post at Stoney Creek, to prepare for operations on the following day. In this critical situation, Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, having carefully reconnoitred the enemy's position, suggested a night-attack, to which General Vincent readily assented. It was made with 700 chosen troops, and being favoured by deep darkness, was completely successful; the Americans fled in every direction, and the two commanders, with seven officers and 116 men, were made prisoners. The British at daylight withdrew their small force; and the Americans boast, that but for the *unaccountable* capture of the two generals, the advantage was all on their side. Their loss, indeed, had not been great; yet such was the panic inspired by the events of this night, that before eleven next morning they had abandoned their camp, and commenced a retreat to Forty-mile Creek, eleven miles distant. Here they received a reinforcement; but being threatened by Sir James Yeo, who had come with a squadron and a small

* James, vol. i. pp. 194-201, 426-428. Brackenridge, p. 96-98.

body of troops to support General Vincent, they determined on retreating to Niagara. Nor did their disgrace stop here. Intelligence being received that the English had a small advanced post at Beaver-dam, Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, with about 700 men, was sent to attack it. That officer, however, being unexpectedly assailed, first by a party of Indians, and soon afterwards by a small body of regulars, conceived himself to be surrounded, and on being summoned by Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, surrendered his whole corps prisoners of war. The Americans now held nothing on the right bank of the river beyond Fort George. The British even made incursions on the opposite shore, in one of which Colonel Bisshopp gained possession of Black Rock, where he destroyed or carried off the arms and stores; but being unfortunately attacked while re-embarking by a superior force, his party suffered some loss, and he himself received three wounds, which proved mortal.*

Our countrymen at this time gained some advantages on Lake Champlain, taking several vessels, and destroying the enemy's magazines at Plattsburg and Swanton. They were now, however, destined to experience some severe reverses, and that too on the theatre of their most brilliant triumphs.

The Americans made extraordinary exertions to retrieve their affairs on the western frontier; volunteers crowded from Kentucky, a territory of fierce and warlike habits,—and by September they had succeeded in augmenting General Harrison's army to upwards of 5000 men. They had formed another fortified station on Sandusky river, which Major-general Proctor, without success, attempted to reduce. A squadron of nine vessels, mounting fifty-six guns, had been equipped by them on Lake Erie, and it was with great difficulty that one at all able to contend with it could be fitted out by the British, under Captain Barclay. An engagement took place, which was maintained with the utmost obsti-

* James, vol. i. pp. 205-229, 431-442. Brackenridge, p. 114-119.

nacy, and the American commodore's ship had even struck her flag; but fortune afterwards turned, and the conflict ended in the defeat and entire surrender of the English squadron.* This event reduced General Proctor to extreme distress, depriving him of access to supplies and reinforcements, while his stock of provisions had become quite inadequate for his own troops and the numerous Indians who had joined his standard. On the arrival, therefore, in the end of September, of General Harrison at Detroit, he did not attempt to maintain his position at Amherstburg, but retreated up the river Thames. The other pursued him closely with 3500 troops, while Proctor was deserted by most of his Indians, of whom he had now only about 500, with 800 whites. At the Moravian town, on the 5th of October, he took up a strong position flanked by the river on one side and a wood on the other, where he hoped to render unavailing the superior numbers of the enemy. Harrison, however, had with him a body of combatants yet unknown in warfare, the Kentucky mounted riflemen, accustomed to ride through the woods, using their weapon with almost preternatural skill. Their very novelty, he justly hoped, would make a strong impression. Following his instructions, they received the fire of their opponents, then galloped forward, and in a few minutes completely broke the British ranks, spreading among them a general confusion. The severest conflict was with the Indians, who lost their chief Tecumseh, one of the bravest of the brave, stamped a hero by the hand of nature, and equally distinguished by policy and eloquence. The main object of his life had been to unite his followers in a grand confederacy against American encroachment. In enmity to them he had warmly attached himself to the cause of the British, and aided them in successive victories. He was shot through the head by Colonel Johnson, a member of Congress. General Proctor retreated to Ancaster, where he could rally

* James, vol. i. p. 263-274. Carey and Lea, p. 62.

only 200 men, with whom he joined the Niagara army. Harrison, also, having thus recovered Michigan, and conquered the western districts, marched to reinforce his countrymen in that quarter.*

The Americans now formed a plan of operations on a grander scale, directed against Montreal, the success of which would have placed in their hands the whole of Upper Canada. In this enterprise, two armies were destined to co-operate; one consisting of nearly 6000 under Major-general Hampton, from Lake Champlain; the other amounting to 8800 under Major-general Wilkinson, from Grenadier Island, near Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario. As the city was defended by a very small proportion of the regular soldiers, who were chiefly employed in the upper province, Hampton hoped, by pushing vigorously forward, to capture the place with little difficulty. But having passed the frontier in the end of October, he found on the banks of the river Chateauguay the advanced corps of 800 British with 172 Indians, commanded by Lieutenant-colonels De Salaberry and M'Donnell. These officers posted their troops so judiciously amid woods, and so skilfully concealed the smallness of their number, that the enemy, though they made several brisk attacks, were always repulsed; and Hampton, believing himself opposed by a large force, determined to retreat.

Meantime the larger expedition under General Wilkinson having crossed Lake Ontario, entered the river St Lawrence. At Williamsburg, two considerable detachments were landed in order at once to clear the banks and to lighten the boats while descending the rapids. On the 11th November, one of these, under Major-general Boyd, encountered Lieutenant-colonel Morrison with an inferior British force. A very obstinate conflict ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. The English seem to have gained the chief honour; but their success was not so decisive as to pre-

* James, vol. i. pp. 276-298, 451-458. Brackenridge, p. 146-156.

vent the enemy from continuing to descend the river towards Montreal. Near Cornwall the commander received despatches from General Hampton, intimating that he declined the expected co-operation, and intended to fall back upon Lake Champlain. Wilkinson then conceived it necessary to give up for this season any attempt upon Montreal, especially as he found the population altogether hostile to the States, and attached to the British government. He therefore placed his army in winter quarters near French-mills on the Salmon river, where he formed a plan for attacking Prescott and Kingston; but finding himself much straitened for provisions, was induced to fall back upon Plattsburg.*

Meantime the employment of the main army of the Americans in this abortive expedition, enabled their opponents to resume the offensive on the Niagara frontier. On the first intelligence of the disasters sustained in the west, General Vincent had been ordered to fall back upon Kingston; but he considered that circumstances now justified him in maintaining his position. The enemy's force in this quarter was not only reduced, but was under the command of Major-general M'Clure, an officer of little spirit or enterprise. On the advance of a strong detachment under Colonel Murray, he first fell back upon Fort George, then abandoned that post, previous to which he barbarously reduced the adjoining town of Newark to ashes. Murray was not content with driving him beyond the river: he crossed it, surprised and stormed Fort Niagara, taking above 400 prisoners, with a large quantity of arms and stores. The English afterwards surprised and plundered the villages of Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, where they retaliated not very considerately the outrages of M'Clure at Fort George.†

Operations were recommenced early in the spring of 1814. Lieutenant-colonel Williams, with 1500 British,

* James, pp. 301-333, 347-350, 467-475. Brackenridge, p. 158-167.

† James, vol. ii. pp. 4, 8-22, 396-403. Brackenridge, p. 169-171.

having taken post at La Colle on the river Richelieu, Wilkinson, who had upwards of 4000 men at Plattsburg, determined to attack them. On the 30th March he completely invested a large mill, which the British had converted into a fortress. All his attempts to carry it were, however, fruitless. Major Handcock even made two attacks on the artillery posted in a wood, though without success. The American general finally gave up the undertaking, and fell back upon Plattsburg. In the beginning of May our countrymen gained another advantage, carrying, though with some loss, the fort of Oswego, where they captured a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores.*

The main effort of the enemy during this campaign was made on the Niagara frontier, where about 5000 men were placed under Major-general Brown, an officer who had distinguished himself on several occasions. On the 3d July he crossed and summoned Fort Erie, which, with its garrison of 170, immediately surrendered. He then marched towards Chippeway, and beat at Street's Creek the advanced-guard of Major-general Riall, which had endeavoured to stop his progress. The English general was then obliged to retreat to Fort George, and thence in the direction of Burlington Heights. Brown hereupon laid siege to the fort, but finding it stronger than he expected, and being disappointed of assistance from Sackett's Harbour, he fell back upon Chippeway. General Riall, on his part, having received some reinforcements, advanced; the armies came close to each other, and on the 25th the republicans commenced the attack. The battle of Lundy's Lane was fought long, obstinately, and with various fortune, a great part of it amid thick darkness, which caused several strange mistakes. The American general and his second in command were wounded, and Riall, on the other side, was taken prisoner. By a singular accident, in the midst of the conflict, Lieutenant-general Drummond arrived with

* James, vol. i. pp. 83-90, 421-427. Brackenridge, p. 190-193.

a reinforcement from York, which restored the battle. Both sides claim a dearly bought victory; but the real issue seems clearly indicated by the retreat of the enemy to Fort Erie. On the night of the 14th of August, Drummond made an attack on the place in two divisions; but his men, in both cases, were repulsed with very severe loss.*

Meantime another part of Canada became the theatre of important operations. After the successes of the allied powers in Europe, the capture of Paris, and the abdication of Napoleon, Britain was enabled to turn her whole strength against the United States, over whom a full triumph was then anticipated. A strong detachment from the south of France arrived in Canada, and enabled Sir George Prevost to place himself at the head of 11,000 men, with whom he undertook to carry the war into the enemy's country. He proceeded to the attack of Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, defended only by 1500 troops, the rest having been sent to the upper province. Macomb, the American commander, on being pressed by this superior force, fell back on his main position, which he strongly fortified. Sir George on the 11th September arrived in front of it; but a flotilla under Captain Downie, destined to co-operate with him, was attacked by the enemy, and under his very eye completely defeated and captured. Conceiving, after this disaster, that any success in storming the enemy's position would be fruitless as to ulterior objects, and a useless sacrifice of men, he immediately withdrew his army. This course was not approved by all; and the general result, so contrary to expectation, gave rise to much discontent and recrimination.†

The Americans were still strong in Upper Canada. On the 17th General Brown sallied from Fort Erie, and, though driven back, caused a severe loss to the British, who soon after raised the siege. Being pressed by a large additional force under Izard, General Drummond

* James, vol. ii. pp. 143-147, 436-452. Brackenridge, p. 219-236.
† James, vol. ii. pp. 213-217, 462-468. Brackenridge, p. 266-271.

retreated to the old position at Burlington Heights; but receiving a reinforcement, consisting of a detachment of the troops newly arrived from Europe, he again advanced. Izard, who did not dare to face him, evacuated Fort Erie, and took up winter quarters on the opposite side of the river. During this autumn the republicans gained some advantages on Lake Erie, but were repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt to recover Fort Michillimakinac.*

The war meantime in other parts of America was productive of important events. The British obtained possession of Washington, where they destroyed the public edifices and property; but they were defeated in their attacks upon Baltimore and New Orleans. Thus, while one party felt itself engaged in an unequal contest, the other had not reaped the expected advantages from its superior means. Both became inclined for peace, which was concluded at Ghent on the 24th December 1814 upon terms which, after this long and chequered contest, brought back the two powers to exactly the same position as when they had commenced.

Sir George Prevost was succeeded in April 1815 by Sir George Gordon Drummond, under whom some discontents began again to appear. These referred chiefly to the conduct of the judges, whom the Assembly viewed with such jealousy that they had impeached at one time the heads of the court both at Quebec and Montreal. In 1816, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke went out as governor-general; and under his administration, at once vigorous and conciliatory, harmony was little interrupted. In 1818, he was instructed by Earl Bathurst to accept the offer formerly made to pay the whole civil list out of the funds of the province; and he applied, not for a permanent settlement, but merely for the sum necessary to meet the current expenses. This was readily granted, and in order to raise it new taxes were imposed, of which, however, the Assembly reserved to themselves the appropriation.

* James, vol. ii. pp. 230-240, 470. Brackenridge, p. 241.

Sir John being obliged by severe illness to return to England, was succeeded in 1818 by the Duke of Richmond. This amiable nobleman, though personally popular, introduced an innovation, which led to the long and serious conflict between the Crown and the Assembly. Instead of submitting, like his predecessor, a detailed estimate of every object of expenditure, he divided the whole into chapters, each comprehending a head or branch, the entire amount of which was alone specified. The Assembly refused to sanction such a change, and passed a vote according to the estimate of the former governor, stating each payment in detail. The legislative council, however, withheld their concurrence from this resolution; and the duke, expressing his displeasure with the lower house, had recourse to the irregular measure of drawing upon the receiver-general for the sum which he had demanded.

In September 1819, his Grace's life and government were suddenly terminated by an attack of hydrophobia. After short intervals under the Hon. James Monk and Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Earl of Dalhousie, in 1820, was removed from Nova Scotia to Canada. This nobleman, possessing a high military reputation and an amiable disposition, had been very popular in his former station; yet, sharing with his advisers, it is probable, those extreme monarchical ideas which had hitherto prevailed in the colonies, he was ill fitted to meet the new crisis that had arisen. Having estimated £22,000 as the amount necessary for the public service, in addition to the revenues vested in the Crown, he solicited this sum as a permanent grant. But the Assembly refused to pass more than an annual bill of supply, in which they specified every item. The council again rejected their vote, with the entire concurrence of the governor, who hesitated not to draw upon the treasurer for even a larger amount than had been asked from the Assembly.

Earl Bathurst, on receiving notice of these proceedings, did not disapprove of Lord Dalhousie's conduct, but strongly recommended economy. He directed also,

that two estimates should be presented, one embracing the government expenses, to be defrayed by funds of which the Crown claimed the entire disposal; the other to be employed on popular objects, in regard to which the members might be left uncontrolled. At the same time, it was enjoined that both of these should be given in full detail. This arrangement was well received, the required sum was voted, and the session terminated amid mutual courtesies.

In the year 1823, the popular cause was strengthened by the insolvency of the receiver-general, Sir John Caldwell; an inquiry into whose accounts had been vainly demanded by the Assembly, and who proved to be indebted to the public nearly L.100,000. When, in the following year, the governor presented his estimates, the representatives assumed a high tone; disputing the right of the Crown to select the objects on which to employ its revenue; condemning the unlawful appropriation of public money, and materially reducing the amount of the sum demanded. These proceedings drew forth a strong expression of displeasure from Lord Dalhousie.

In 1825, the government, during his lordship's temporary absence, was administered by Sir Francis Burton. This officer, anxious to conciliate the lower house, yielded nearly all the points in dispute. He sanctioned a bill of supply, in which no distinction was made between the government and the popular expenditure; an annual grant being made, with considerable reductions, so that a virtual control over the whole revenue was thereby conceded to the members. Accordingly, they now openly claimed the right to appropriate all that was raised within the province, denying the privilege, hitherto exercised by government, of the uncontrolled disposal of certain branches. These were the produce of duties on imports, imposed by act of Parliament in 1774, and yielding annually about L.34,000, with some of smaller amount arising from the sale of land, timber, and other casual sources. Earl Bathurst strongly disapproved of the concessions made by Burton; and Lord Dalhousie,

having resumed office in 1826, disallowed a bill in which the above claim was incorporated.

Lord Goderich, who in 1827 received the seals of the Colonial Office, though he maintained the right of government to dispose of the disputed revenue, yet directed that an offer should be made of resigning it to the Assembly on their granting an annual civil list of L.36,000. On the meeting of that body, however, M. Papineau was elected speaker; an appointment which, on account of his violent opposition to the measures of administration, Lord Dalhousie refused to sanction. The consequence was, that no session of either house was held in the winter of 1827-1828.*

Discontent had now risen to an alarming height; and in the latter year, a petition was presented to the king, signed by 87,000 inhabitants, complaining of the conduct of successive governors, particularly of the Earl of Dalhousie, and urging a compliance with the demands of the Assembly. Mr Huskisson, who had become colonial minister, moved that this petition should be referred to a committee of the House of Commons. One was accordingly named, composed in a great degree of members attached to liberal principles, who, after a very elaborate investigation, gave in a report, in which they strongly condemned the practice of appropriating large sums taken from the public revenue without the sanction of the representatives of the people. With regard to the main portion of the disputed income, being that produced by the duties of 1774, its disposal appeared, from the report of his majesty's law officers, to be vested in the Crown; yet the committee judged, that the real interests of the province would be best promoted by placing the whole under the control of the Assembly. At the same time they distinctly expressed their opinion that the governor, the judges, and the executive council, should be made independent of the annual votes of that body.

* Despatches from the Earl of Aberdeen to Earl Amherst (ordered to be printed 22d March 1838), pp. 10, 11. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 395-398.

They recommended that a more liberal character should be conferred on the legislative and executive councils; and that the public lands should be assigned in a more beneficial manner. Generally admitting that the grievances complained of were more or less well founded, they advised a thorough and effectual redress.

This report appears to have given very decided satisfaction in the colony, and the Assembly ordered it to be printed, and 400 copies distributed.* In a series of resolutions passed on the 19th March 1830, they seem to limit their demands to the complete fulfilment of its provisions.† Sir James Kempt, who was sent out in 1828, had been furnished with instructions to carry the recommendations of the committee into effect with as little delay as possible, and generally to follow a conciliatory system. He appears to have proceeded with zeal and efficiency in the prescribed course. Three new members were added to the legislative council, who are said to have been agreeable to the popular party. The judges, with the exception of the Chief Justice, whose advice on legal questions was considered desirable, were requested with some earnestness to resign their places in that body. They declined compliance, but agreed to take no share in its deliberations, and did not afterwards attend its sittings. New members were also added to the executive council, in which seats were even offered to Neilson and Papineau, the leaders of the opposition. The act transferring to the Assembly the revenue in dispute could not be obtained immediately, but it was promised on the first meeting of Parliament. The Assembly, however, in voting the supplies of 1829, had proceeded on the supposition of having the whole at their disposal, and cut off several thousand pounds from the governor's estimates; but as the vote did not appear to involve any absolute recognition of their claim, and as it seemed inexpedient to dispute a point virtually given up,

* Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed in 1834 on the Affairs of Lower Canada.

† Ibid. p. 8.

Sir James yielded his assent. This step, though not approved by Sir George Murray, was not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, positively disallowed. The governor is said to have treated the ruling party in the Assembly with a courtesy of manners to which they had not been accustomed; and on his departure in 1830, addresses were presented to him by the most respectable inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, which were signed by Papineau and other popular leaders.*

Lord Aylmer immediately succeeded to the government. His communications with the Assembly were of the most friendly description; and though circumstances consequent on the death of George IV. had still prevented the passing of the proposed act, it was promised with all practicable speed. Lord Goderich, who now presided in the Colonial Office, directed that the items, which had been again rejected in 1830, and amounted now to £7500, should not be longer pressed, but a compensation be requested for several individuals who had been thereby deprived of their income. On the 24th December, his lordship sent two despatches, intimating his intention to bring in a bill which should empower his majesty to place the proceeds of the duties in question at the disposal of the Assembly. In return, that body was expected to make a permanent provision for the judges, as well as for the principal officers of government. The demand was fixed, according to a very moderate estimate, at £19,100, which, by a grant of £5000, made in 1795 for the support of the civil government, would be reduced to £14,100. It was intimated, however, that the casual and territorial revenues, arising from the sale of land, the cutting of timber, and other sources, were still to be considered as belonging to the king. They had amounted in the previous year to £11,231; but were reduced, by expenses of collection and other deductions, to about £7500. This sum it was proposed

* Evidence before Committee of 1834, pp. 4, 5, 8, 87, 91-93. Existing Difficulties in the Government of the Canadas, by J. A. Roebuck, M. P. (London, 1836), p. 16.

to employ chiefly in paying the stipends of the clergy of the Established Church, hitherto drawn, not very appropriately, out of the army extraordinaries. It was urged, that these funds belonged legally and constitutionally to his majesty, whose employment of them upon objects, not of mere patronage, but closely connected with the interests of the province, could not be reasonably objected to.

Lord Aylmer was well aware that this last reservation would be deemed very unsatisfactory; but he considered it most prudent to lay before the Assembly a full and frank statement of the views of government. That body, after inquiring into the mode of collection and amount of these revenues, passed a resolution, that "under no circumstances, and upon no consideration whatever, they would abandon or compromise their claim to control over the whole public revenue." Particular objection was also intimated to the support of exclusive religious establishments; doubtless more strongly felt from the circumstance that the church to be endowed was different from that of the ruling party. They determined, therefore, for the present, not to grant any permanent supply; and on the 8th March 1831, drew up, on the motion of Mr Neilson, a pretty long list of grievances, which was presented to the governor. He expressed in return an earnest wish to know if these comprised the whole of their complaints; giving them to understand that silence would be construed into an admission of their being so. They were accordingly silent; passed a bill of annual supply; and showed on the whole a more favourable tone and temper.*

His lordship transmitted the list of complaints, with an admission that many of them were well founded, at the same time strongly eulogizing the loyal disposition of the people of Canada. Lord Goderich, in a long reply, dated July 7, 1831, declared, that there was scarcely a poin which government were not ready to concede, and

* Evidence before Committee of 1834, pp. 9-13, 19-25, 31-40.

expressed his satisfaction at the prospect thus afforded of a termination to this long and harassing contest. This despatch was laid before the House, who, in a series of resolutions, declared their gratitude for the expressions of his majesty's paternal regard, the proofs of a just and liberal policy, and the feelings of kindness and good-will manifested in it. The different points to which it related were referred to separate committees.[1]

Soon after, a despatch from the colonial secretary made known that the act for transferring the funds in dispute had passed the houses of Parliament and received the royal assent. Whether from extreme liberality or total inadvertence, it was so worded as to preclude the imperial treasury from ever exercising any control over them, leaving thus no room for negotiation with the Assembly. Lord Aylmer was instructed, however, to demand, in return, a grant of permanent salaries to the judges, who were also, according to the Assembly's desire, to be made independent of the crown; and a similar provision was asked for the governor and a few of the chief executive officers. This matter being referred to the Assembly, they began, on the 20th January 1832, with the first particular. On providing that the judges should be independent of the crown, and, with the exception of the Chief Justice, should not sit in the executive or legislative councils, it was determined that permanent salaries should be paid to them. But, at the same time, a motion of Mr Neilson was carried by a large majority, that these should be drawn in the first instance from the casual and territorial revenues, which Lord Goderich had expressly reserved to the Crown. Lord Aylmer considered it therefore necessary to send home the bill, yet with an advice to accept the terms, as the best there was any likelihood of obtaining. It was rejected, however, on two grounds;—first, that it did not render the judges really independent of the Assembly, but left an annual vote still necessary. We cannot help suspecting

[1] Evidence, 1834, p. 37-47.

that there was here an unhappy misconception. The terms of the bill are, "that the salaries shall be secured to them in a fixed and permanent manner;" and "shall be taken and paid out of the proceeds of the casual and territorial revenue, and the revenue now appropriated by acts of the provincial Parliament, for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government, and out of any other public revenue of the province which may be, or come into the hands of the receiver-general." It would appear that, according to the plain meaning of language, these terms involved a full warrant for payment. Probably Lord Goderich had legal advice, and some technical terms usual in British acts might be wanting; but a provincial legislature could scarcely be expected to be fully aware of these niceties. The legislative body, the governor, and we doubt not also the Assembly, had considered this as a permanent settlement; the latter, had it been so acted on, probably would not, and certainly could not reasonably have objected. The other ground was the encroachment upon the casual and territorial revenue, which, made in this indirect manner, was considered peculiarly offensive, though Lord Goderich had been fully apprized of their determination against any agreement in which this article was not included.*

The next question which came before the Assembly was, the demand of a permanent provision for the governor and a certain number of the leading executive officers. After a long debate, however, it was carried by a large majority in the negative. This decision placed the Assembly completely at issue with the Crown, and has been represented as a breach of faith on their part. They had not, it is true, come under any formal engagement; yet the report of the committee of 1828, which decidedly connected this arrangement with the cession of the disputed revenues, had always been referred to by them as embracing almost every thing desired;

* Evidence, 1834, p. 56-65.

and to this part of it they had never hinted any objection. On the 6th December 1830, they had passed resolutions, insisting indeed on the control of the entire revenue, but expressing an intention, were this gained, to grant the permanent provision now demanded. That preliminary claim certainly embraced also the casual and territorial branches still withheld; yet these were not of great amount; and the present bill, like that relating to the judges, might have been so framed as to be inoperative without these funds being embraced by it. No reason was assigned; but the view of the Assembly is stated to have been, that the executive not being dependent on them for a naval and military establishment, would, in case of such a permanent settlement, have been entirely free from that control which they sought to exercise over it. They passed, however, a vote of annual supply, which Lord Goderich, though much dissatisfied with the tenor of their proceedings, thought it expedient to sanction.*

Next year (1833) the Assembly still granted only an annual bill, in which, according to a requisition of Lord Goderich, they stated the purposes to which each particular sum was to be applied. They added, without its being asked or wished, the individuals to whom it was to be paid; and appended a number of conditions, chiefly bearing, that such persons should not hold any other situation, and should not be members of the executive or legislative councils. This was considered objectionable, because public officers were thus suddenly deprived of situations which they had long held, without any consideration of their claims to compensation; also because those regulations ought not to have been tacked to a money bill, but made the subject of a separate enactment. On these grounds this bill was negatived by the legislative council, and Lord Stanley, who had been placed at the head of the Colonial Office, intimated, that had it reached him, he could not have advised his majesty to

* Evidence, 1834, p. 58-63.

assent to it. In the same session, a measure was introduced for securing independence and permanent provision to the judges, in a form calculated to obviate Lord Goderich's chief objections; but on the motion of M. Papineau it was rejected, and the speeches of the leaders of the Assembly are said to have implied, that it was no longer considered advisable to exempt these functionaries from their control.*

The breach now continually widened. Lord Stanley, considering the conduct of the Canadians as manifesting a resolution to engross the whole power of the state, directed the funds not yet made over by Parliament to be employed in the partial payment of the civil officers; and he is said to have determined to bring in a bill for repealing the act by which the concession had been made. Meantime the Assembly had raised, and placed in the front of their demands, a new article, which almost entirely precluded all hope of accommodation, namely, the abolition of the present legislative council, and the substitution of one elected, like themselves, by the body of the people. Such an arrangement was without example in any British colony; and the existing state of political feeling in the mother country would have rendered it scarcely possible for ministers to propose it in Parliament. It had been first started in March 1831, when Lord Aylmer had just gone out with the announced intention of acting upon the report of 1828, and redressing, if possible, every grievance hitherto complained of. There seemed therefore room to suspect, that the conciliatory disposition shown, instead of producing final satisfaction, had only prompted to higher demands, through the belief that by perseverance they would finally obtain whatever they chose to ask. Yet, though a resolution of the committee to that effect was approved by the members, it was not expressly included in the list of grievances then presented. But on the 20th March 1833, a petition to the king, signed by M. Papineau,

* Evidence, 1834, p. 74-79.

speaker of the House of Assembly, strenuously urged this measure, and the calling of a body of delegates to arrange the conditions. The leading ones proposed were, a qualification in the electors of £10 in the country and of £20 in towns, a certain income to qualify the councillor, and the duration of his functions for six years. Lord Stanley in reply said this was an object to which, deeming it altogether inconsistent with the very existence of monarchical institutions, he could never advise his majesty to consent; and he particularly objected to the proposed mode of effecting it, by what he termed "a national convention." A counter address, however, by the legislative council, was censured as intemperate in its language, and appearing to ascribe generally to his majesty's subjects of one origin views inconsistent with their allegiance. In conclusion, he alluded to "the possibility that events might unhappily force upon Parliament the exercise of its supreme authority to compose the internal dissensions of the colonies, and which might lead to a modification of the charter of the Canadas."*

This despatch was submitted to the Assembly, and its entire tenor, particularly the implied threat at the close, excited the highest indignation in that body. They declined this year (1834) to pass any bill of supply whatever, and employed the session in preparing another long list of grievances. They complained, that while those formerly urged were still unredressed, there had been added the partial payment of the civil officers without their consent. They made a peremptory demand of the elective legislative council, without which nothing would be accepted as satisfactory. Lord Aylmer's conduct was reprobated as violent, unconstitutional, and contemptuous, and his recall urgently demanded. The published correspondence assuredly does not bear out this charge. His addresses to the Assembly are particularly courteous; and he recommends generally to the government at home concessions so ex-

* Evidence, 1834, pp. 76, 193-200. Roebuck, p. 17.

tensive, that Lord Goderich, himself considered liberal towards the colonies, refused to accede to them. The petition, however, was presented to Parliament, and a committee appointed for its consideration.

Meantime Lord Stanley retired from power, and was succeeded in the colonial department by Mr Spring Rice. This gentleman renounced the design entertained by his predecessor of recalling the revenues yielded to the Assembly, and gave intimation, it is said, that he would follow a more conciliatory course. He only asked a little time till he could make himself master of the subject; and thus the popular leaders were induced to delay taking any strong measures. They bitterly complained, however, that the administration was carried on as before. Lord Aylmer was continued in the government, and though the Canadian funds were not entrenched upon, a sum of £31,000 was advanced from the military chest for payment of the civil servants, by which their responsibility to the Assembly was equally evaded. Before Mr Rice had matured his plan, he was removed from office by the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power. He stated that he had it completed, and was ready to submit it to the cabinet on the very day when this change occurred; an assertion which Mr Roebuck treats with evident scepticism, though seemingly without any adequate ground.

Sir Robert, on assuming the reins of office, early directed his attention to the disturbed state of Canada. After some deliberation, he determined to send out a commissioner, with power to examine on the spot, and redress without delay, every real grievance which should be proved to exist. Even the casual and territorial revenues were to be surrendered, on condition of the settlement of a civil list for at least seven years. The elective legislative council, however, and the entire management of the public lands could not be conceded.* Viscount Canterbury, the late speaker, was first

* Despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen to Earl Amherst, p. 3-6.

invited to fill this important appointment, and, on his declining, it was conferred on Earl Amherst. This arrangement, however, was nullified by the vote which led to the resignation of Sir Robert, and the return of Lord Melbourne to power.

The restored ministry followed up, with certain modifications, the plan of their predecessors. A commission was sent out, for inquiry only and without the power of decision, composed of the following individuals,—the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Edward Grey, and Sir George Gipps. The first, an Irish nobleman, professing principles decidedly liberal, succeeded Lord Aylmer as governor. Lord Glenelg, now the colonial secretary, drew up for their guidance a series of instructions, in which he considered the claim to the disposal of the entire revenue somewhat exorbitant, and not warranted by British example, yet was willing, for the sake of peace, to consent to it, on certain conditions. These were, an independent provision for the judges, and salaries for the civil officers, fixed for a certain number of years, ten being mentioned as particularly suitable. With regard to the uncleared lands, the whole proceeds arising from their sale were to be placed at the disposal of the Assembly; but government could not consent to part with the management of them, or annul the contract made with the Land Company, though they would be ready to guard against all abuses, and even to receive any suggestions on the subject. The existing pensions were also to be retained, but the future power of granting them would be surrendered. In regard to the critical question of the elective legislative council, it was said,—"The king is most unwilling to admit, as open to debate, the question, whether one of the vital principles of the provincial government shall undergo alteration." The right of petition, however, was fully recognised, and his majesty would not "absolutely close the avenue to inquiry," even where, "for the present, he saw no reasonable ground of doubt."*

* Copy of the Instructions to the Earl of Gosford, &c. p. 5-13.

The Earl of Gosford having arrived in Canada, lost no time in calling a meeting of the legislature, who were convoked on the 27th October 1835; and in his opening speeches, he professed the most conciliatory views, particularly towards the French or popular party. He avowed the opinion, that "to be acceptable to the great body of the people, is one of the most essential elements of fitness for public station." He intimated his readiness to place the whole revenue at the disposal of the Assembly on the conditions formerly stated. All the other grievances were to be carefully examined and redressed; and allusion was made to "still graver matters," respecting which the commissioners "were not precluded from entering into an inquiry."

The legislative council returned an answer which, in all respects, was extremely moderate. They generally concurred in the sentiments of the speech, deprecated the idea that difference of origin should affect political rights, which ought to be equal to all his majesty's subjects. But the House of Assembly, while holding conciliatory language, advanced much more lofty pretensions. The change in the legislative council was repeatedly pressed, as absolutely essential to the tranquillity and contentment of the province. The entire control of the public revenue was referred to, not as a boon, but an incontestable and essential right; and while they stated their readiness to consider attentively any measure tending to facilitate the exercise of this right, they avoided all mention of conditions to be performed in return. Notwithstanding the high ground thus taken, the intercourse between the popular leaders and the governor was extremely friendly. He admitted them to his table and his intimacy, and treated them on every occasion with much kindness. They were understood to represent the great body of the people, whom he had expressed his desire to conciliate; and he professed liberal views to those who would understand that term in its widest sense. So decided was the impression produced, that the opposite party loaded him with the bitterest invec-

tives, and even threw out menaces of insurrection; while the leaders of the Assembly went so far as to intimate, that they would relieve the immediate financial embarrassments by granting the three years' arrears, and a half-year in advance. They attached to the grant somewhat hard conditions, which, however, were not rejected; and on the remark being made, that these would ensure its rejection by the legislative council, an intimation is said to have been given, that it would be accepted directly by address, without being liable to the veto of that body.*

This good understanding was suddenly interrupted. The governor's language above cited, in regard to the elective council, had been very different from that of his instructions, not pledging him indeed to the measure, yet such as, combined with his other conduct, conveyed to both parties the idea that it was determined upon. This course is defended as the only one by which the supplies so urgently wanted could be obtained; and it was hoped, that by a continued conciliatory course, the Assembly might, when the real intention of the cabinet could no longer be concealed, be induced to wave their demand. Any degree of duplicity in a government, however, must, when discovered, lower its dignity, irritate the deceived parties, and, at the same time, give them an impression of their strength, which had driven those in authority to such an expedient. Unhappily all those effects followed, before any of the expected fruits had been reaped. Sir Francis Bond Head had at the same time been sent out to Upper Canada, and being a very straightforward person, and seemingly unapprized of Lord Gosford's intentions, had made public a part of the instructions, including that momentous passage already quoted, relative to the legislative council. It was such as, though not wholly precluding discussion on the object, left to the popular

* Papers relating to Lower Canada (20th February 1837), p. 4-12. Anti-Gallic Letters, by Camillus (Montreal, 1836), p. 35-41. Correspondence on Canada Affairs (Brighton, 1836), p. 3-6, &c.

leaders scarcely a hope of its attainment. Their rage knew no bounds; they complained not only of disappointment in their favourite object, but of a deception by which they had been nearly misled. It was now determined not to grant the three years' arrears, but merely a supply for the current half-year, allowing only that short period to comply with their demands. This slender boon, too, was clogged with conditions which, as had been foreseen, induced the upper house to reject it, so that the session, in all respects very stormy, passed over without any provision whatever being made for the public service. The legislative council felt naturally indignant at the violent attempts meditated for its overthrow, and instead of studying to show these to be unmerited, the members vented their resentment by rejecting almost every bill sent up from the Assembly. Among these was the vote continuing the funds for national education, which were thus entirely withdrawn. All the political elements were disturbed, and in violent collision with each other.*

The commissioners, in March 1836, viewing this state of things, and seeing no prospect of obtaining money to carry on the government, without immediately yielding to every demand of the lower house, considered it indispensable to obtain it without their consent. This, they thought, would be best accomplished by Parliament repealing the act passed on the motion of Lord Goderich, by which funds to the amount of £38,000 had been made over to the Assembly. This would indeed excite bitter resentment; but with the other reserved revenues, it would at least enable the government to proceed without any grants from that body. Lord Glenelg was not forward to act on this recommendation. He wrote to the Earl of Gosford, expressing a hope, on grounds which do not very distinctly appear, that the violent resolution complained of had been induced by the partial

* Roebuck, p. 39. The late Session of the Provincial Parliament (Montreal, 1836), p. 13-29.

and imperfect knowledge of the Instructions, and that a communication of the whole might lead to more favourable views. He expressed a wish, therefore, that the provincial Parliament should be again called, and an opportunity afforded for retracting, before recourse was had to extreme measures. The meeting was accordingly held on the 22d of September 1836; but the majority soon presented an address to the governor, denying that, according to the apprehension expressed in his speech, they laboured under any kind of misconception; they saw nothing to make them change their views, or prevent them from insisting on the same demands, particularly that of the elective council. They adverted in an indignant manner to certain pretended authorities, as they termed the commission, and maintained that they themselves were the legitimate and authorized organ of all classes of inhabitants; that they had used their power in such a manner as ought to have secured confidence; and to them, not to a few strangers, ought to have been committed the fate of the country. They declared it their imperative duty to adhere to the contents of their last address; "and to them do we adhere." They finally expressed a resolution not only to do nothing more in regard to supply, but to adjourn their deliberations altogether, unless government should commence the great work of justice and reform, particularly in regard to the second branch of the legislature.*

Matters had now reached an extremity which seemed to render it no longer possible to delay an interposition. The stoppage of the supplies, like the granting of them, was no doubt a right inherent in a representative assembly. Yet it is one, the exercise of which is attended with such formidable evils, that the Commons of England, during more than a century, had merely kept it in the background as a last resort, and never brought it into actual operation. The constitutional character

* Second Report of Canada Commissioners, p. 93-95, &c. Papers relating to Lower Canada, p. 31-41.

of the measure became still more questionable, when employed, not to control the abuses of the executive, but to overthrow a separate and co-ordinate branch of the legislature, deriving its existence from the same source with the Assembly itself. This was a mighty change, amounting to a kind of revolution, and to be effected only with the utmost deliberation. The stopping the whole machine of government, and not allowing even an interval of time to effect it, was a measure of extreme violence. Had the popular leaders listened to the dictates of prudence and moderation, they might, availing themselves of the conciliatory disposition shown by the new governor, have obtained all their substantial objects. They would have gained the chief control in the executive, after which the legislative council, whom they continually reproached with subserviency to the latter branch, were not likely to persevere in unavailing opposition.

Ministers now determined no longer to delay measures for counteracting the proceedings of the violent party, and placing the executive government in a state of regular action. Parliament having assembled, and the reports of the commissioners being laid on the table, Lord John Russell, on the 6th March 1837, moved a series of resolutions on which acts were to be founded. After a statement of the actual posture of affairs, it was proposed that the sum of £142,000 should be taken out of the provincial funds locked up by the Assembly, and applied to the payment of the judges and other civil officers, down to the 10th April. It was afterwards agreed, not, as the commissioners had recommended, to resume any part of the ceded monies, but by a strict economy to carry on the government from that date with the casual and territorial revenues, which circumstances had now raised to about £28,000. The elective legislative council, and the direct responsibility of the executive one to the Assembly, were both declared inexpedient; though it was stated as desirable that considerable improvements should be made in the composition of both.

These suggestions gave occasion to very warm debates. The Tories, while they supported the proposals of government, accused them of an imprudent indulgence and want of energy, which had emboldened the factious party to proceed to extremities. On the other hand, a small but active section of the popular leaders justified all the claims and proceedings of the Canadian Assembly, denounced the Resolutions as unconstitutional and tyrannical, and predicted as their result civil war and the loss of the colonies. The motion of Mr Leader, however, in favour of an elective council, was negatived by 318 to 56, and the cabinet measures were carried by overwhelming majorities; but the death of William IV. intervened before they could be embodied in acts of Parliament. The necessity of a dissolution, and the unwillingness to begin the government of a young and popular queen by a scheme of coercion, induced ministers to substitute the expedient of advancing the amount by way of loan from the British revenue, in the prospect of being ultimately reimbursed from the provincial funds.

As an interval was to elapse between the passing of the Resolutions and their being acted on, Lord Gosford was instructed to make a last trial of the Assembly, in hopes that, seeing such a vast majority in Parliament against them, they might be induced of themselves to vote the money, and thus save the necessity of any unwonted interference. Already, however, several violent demonstrations had taken place. Meetings were held in the counties of Montreal and Richelieu, in which it was affirmed, that the votes of the commons had put an end to all hopes of justice; and that no further attempts should be made to obtain redress from the Imperial Parliament. They considered the government as now only one of force, to be submitted to from necessity during their present weakness; and in order to reduce as far as possible its power, they declared that all consumption of British manufactures and of articles paying taxes, ought to be discontinued; and finally, that a

general convention should be held, to consider what farther measures were advisable.

Lord Glenelg, in consequence of this state of things in Canada, had resolved to send out two additional regiments; but afterwards, finding this to be inconvenient, he gave authority to apply to Sir Colin Campbell for such force as could be spared from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. On the 6th May the governor replied, that he had not the least expectation of any thing serious, though in case of a dissolution he admitted that "there might be some broken heads." On the 10th June, however, upon learning that a system of organization was carrying on under the influence of Papineau, he applied to Sir Colin for a regiment, which arrived early in July. He had already issued a proclamation, warning the people against all attempts to seduce them from their allegiance. Meetings, numerously attended, were held in Montreal and Quebec, condemning the violent conduct of the House of Assembly, declaring attachment to British connexion, and deprecating any breach of the public peace.*

On the 18th August Lord Gosford again called the provincial Parliament. The Resolutions were laid before the Assembly, with the expression of a hope that its proceedings would supersede the necessity of their being acted on. The changes in the constitution of the councils had been unfortunately delayed by difficulties as to certain appointments; but these improvements were solemnly promised. Warm debates ensued. Mr Andrew Stuart, one of the members for Quebec, proposed a compliance with the request of government, which was negatived by 63 to 13. An address was then moved by M. Taschereau, a representative of the county of Beauce, expressing a willingness to give a trial to the means proposed for amending the legislative council, but declining any grant till they were brought into operation. Another address,

* Copies, &c. of Correspondence relative to Lower Canada (23d December 1837), pp. 8-13, 20-33.

breathing the most determined hostility, was then moved, and carried by 46 to 31. It denounced the step now taken as an absolute destruction of the representative government in the province,—a total refusal of all the reforms and improvements demanded. If these Resolutions were carried into effect, the colony, it was said, would no longer be attached to the mother country by feelings of duty, of affection, and mutual interest, but solely by physical force. In this conjuncture they could see no motive for the slightest departure from their intention to withhold the supplies; and they adhered in every respect to their resolutions of 30th September 1836. Lord Gosford, in reply, gave utterance to his deep regret at measures which he considered a virtual annihilation of the constitution, and immediately prorogued the Assembly.*

The popular leaders seem now to have formed the resolution of having recourse to arms. They, as well as their organs in this country, had often asserted,† and seem at length to have believed, that only an effort was required to sever the colonies from the mother country. This was a most hasty and inconsiderate conclusion. The example of the American colonies was referred to; but they were much stronger than the Canadians are now, while the power of Britain, on the other hand, was considerably smaller. Yet it was only after a long and calamitous contest of eight years, that they established their independence; and their success would have been doubtful, had they not been aided by a most powerful European confederacy. The aid of the United States was indeed held forth; but the latter had been so little disposed to intermeddle on such occasions, that they remained neutral during the long contest between Spain and her colonies, although her situation gave them little to dread from her resentment. It was therefore very unlikely that they should now engage single-handed in a contest with the whole power of Britain.

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* Correspondence, &c. p. 36-45. † Roebuck, pp. 33, 43, 50.

The meetings in pursuance of these views were not held on so great a scale, or in the same public and ostentatious manner as formerly. They were numerous, however, and breathed the most hostile spirit, renouncing all hope of redress from the parent state, and pointing directly to a separation. A central committee was formed at Montreal, whose proceedings were in a great measure secret, and preparations were understood to be making for a general convention. It was nearly vain to attempt repressing the most violent demonstrations against the government, since no petty jury could be found to convict, and in two instances, when the evidence was considered perfectly conclusive, the bills were ignored by the grand jury. The governor, however, learning that numerous individuals holding her majesty's commission had taken a share in those meetings, caused letters to be written to them demanding an explanation. On receiving none that was satisfactory, he dismissed eighteen magistrates and thirty-five militia officers. Among the latter was Papineau, whose answer was couched in the most defying and contemptuous terms. He, it is observed, had now gone such lengths, as made it impossible for him to recede without losing all his influence; he must either be put down, or allowed to put down the government. In the beginning of October, the new arrangement of the two councils was carried into effect, at least to a great extent; but it excited little interest, and was rejected by the violent leaders as wholly unsatisfactory.*

The malecontent party became every day bolder. An association was formed, under the title of "The Sons of Liberty," who, without committing actual violence, paraded the streets of Montreal in a hostile and threatening manner. They emitted a proclamation containing the most violent expressions. "The wicked designs," said they, "of British authorities have severed all ties of sympathy for an unfeeling mother country."—"A glori-

* Correspondence, pp. 47-50, 63, 72.

ous destiny awaits the young men of these colonies;" and this was explained to be "to disfranchise our beloved country from all human authority, except that of the bold democracy residing within its bosom." They alluded to "the struggle for life and liberty in which we must sooner or later be engaged, when the day of glory arrives, that will see us emerge from a long dark bondage to the splendour of light and freedom." At the same time, in the county of Two Mountains, the people determined not to obey the magistrates appointed in the room of those displaced; an organization was formed of *pacificator* justices, to compose differences without recourse to the constituted authorities, and in whose decisions all true patriots were required to acquiesce. Meanwhile, the militia in that district were organized in a new form, under officers of their own selection, including those recently dismissed; and an active training was carried on. All loyal and neutral residents were by violent measures compelled either to join the malecontents or quit the territory, throughout which British authority entirely ceased.*

No long time passed before this course of proceeding was imitated in the more populous portion of the Montreal territory lying southward of the St Lawrence. On the 23d October, a meeting was held of the five counties on the Richelieu and the Yamaska, when a petition was presented from L'Acadie to be admitted as a sixth. The petitioners used the most intemperate language, declaring themselves prepared to sacrifice every thing most dear to them in this world, to emancipate from a vile slavery the land that gave them birth. They renounced all principles but those of the purest democracy, and desired to place themselves under the guidance and behind the buckler of L. J. Papineau. At the meeting of the *six* counties, the numbers attending were variously estimated from 1500 to 5000, of whom a proportion were armed. Their resolutions, without absolutely announcing

* Correspondence, &c. p. 63-70.

rebellion, went to place every thing in preparation for it. The recent appointments to the two councils were declared wholly unsatisfactory, while the introduction of an armed force into the province was stigmatized as a new and enormous grievance. The magistrates and militia were to be organized after the model of those of the Two Mountains, and the example of the Sons of Liberty was also recommended, "that they might be prepared to support each other with promptitude and effect, should circumstances require them to protect and defend their threatened liberties." A similar address was drawn up on the following day, and circulated through the province. The same course was followed, of compelling by violence and threats the officers to resign their situations or leave the country.*

Government could not remain passive while its authority was openly set at nought, and insurrection matured under its very eye. Applications were made to Sir Colin Campbell for two additional regiments, and likewise for what force could be spared from the Upper Province. The zealous offers of the loyal inhabitants to place themselves in arms, which had been long declined from motives of prudence, were now accepted, and volunteer corps were zealously and rapidly organized. The Catholic clergy took a decided part in the support of order and peace, and an address was published by the Bishop of Montreal, exhorting his flock against the violent and illegal proceedings now in progress. This, among a religious people, though it did not stop the career of those who had so deeply committed themselves, had probably a powerful effect in arresting the spread of the disorder, and keeping it confined, as it still was, to Montreal district.

The first blow was struck at the town now mentioned, between the "Sons of Liberty" and a loyal association formed in opposition to them. The former were completely worsted, and pursued through the streets; none were

* Correspondence, &c. pp. 86-89, 95-100.

killed, but several severely hurt, particularly Brown from New York, who had assumed the title of their general. Papineau's house, which the victors attempted to burn, was saved, but the office of the Vindicator newspaper was destroyed. Exaggerated reports of this affair being spread throughout the country, heightened the general ferment; and it was announced from various quarters that resistance was daily extending, and assuming a more organized form.

It was now obvious, that unless some decisive step were taken, the malecontent cause must continually gain new strength, and the connexion of the colonies with the mother country become seriously endangered. The course deemed most effectual was immediately to arrest the most active leaders. A warrant was accordingly issued at Montreal against twenty-six, of whom seven were members of Assembly, including Papineau and Viger. Nine were apprehended; but the arch-agitator himself had disappeared, and doubts were even entertained if he were still in the province. This step necessarily led to a crisis, especially as some of the warrants were against persons residing in the heart of the disturbed territory. Two being in the vicinity of St John, on the Richelieu, a party of eighteen volunteer militia were despatched thither to apprehend them. An oversight seems to have been committed in sending so small a force, not regular, into the midst of a hostile country. They succeeded, however, in capturing the parties; and an armed body of thirty who appeared near Chambly made no attempt to intercept them. Near Longueuil, however, they found a field on the right of the road occupied by 300 well armed men, protected by a high fence. From this assemblage a fire was immediately opened upon the detachment, which, from its position, could not be returned with effect. Several were wounded, the rest retreated, and the two prisoners were rescued by the insurgents.*

* Correspondence, pp. 95, 102-110.

The standard of insurrection having thus been openly raised, it became necessary to act with the utmost promptitude. Information was received that Papineau, Brown, and Neilson, were at the villages of St Denis and St Charles, on the Richelieu, which had been occupied by the armed inhabitants; and accordingly, Sir John Colborne, the commander-in-chief, sent strong detachments under Colonels Gore and Wetherall to attack these places. The former, on the 22d November, having conveyed his force in a steamer to Sorel, proceeded up the river against St Denis; but being obliged to take a circuitous route, through tracks which, from previous rain, were knee-deep, the troops arrived in a very jaded state. Though the whole country was in arms, no serious resistance was encountered till they reached the village, the entrance to which was defended by a large stone-house strongly fortified, from which, as well as from others on each side, a heavy fire was opened. A howitzer was brought up against it, whence round-shot was fired with a view to batter it down, but without effect. Captain Markham, with the advance, had gallantly cleared the way and taken an adjoining house, but was then severely wounded, and obliged to quit the field. Finding that no impression could be made on the main barrier, that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that the troops were overpowered with fatigue, Gore considered a retreat unavoidable. It was effected without serious inconvenience, though it became necessary to leave a cannon on the road, while his loss was six killed, ten wounded, and six missing. No blame seems to have been attached to the colonel, whose means, especially in ammunition, were scarcely adequate; but this second advantage, gained by the rebel cause at the opening of the contest, was a most unfortunate circumstance, and unless counteracted might have spread disaffection to an alarming extent.

Meantime, Colonel Wetherall with his detachment proceeded by way of Chambly to St Charles, a point higher up the river. He was delayed in a similar manner

by the badness of the roads; and on reaching St Hilaire, found it necessary to procure another company from Chambly, and even to send a messenger to Montreal, we presume for farther aid. Having reason, however, to consider his communications with that place intercepted, he determined, on the 26th, to advance to the attack. About 1500 insurgents, under the command of Brown, had posted themselves in the village, and surrounded it with a strong stockade. The English commander, on his arrival, drew up his force at a short distance, in the hope of producing some defection; but none taking place, and a heavy fire being opened upon him, he pushed forward to the assault. In about an hour the intrenchment was carried, the fortified houses and palisades were set on fire, the troops were masters of the town, and the rebels fled in every direction. The carnage was great, the entire loss of the malecontents being about 300. Charges have been made of severe and vindictive proceedings, which we should hope are exaggerated. Another body took up a position in his rear, with the view of cutting off his return to Chambly; but when he approached them on the 28th, they broke and dispersed at the first onset.*

The affair of St Charles decided the fate of the contest. A general panic spread among the peasantry, and they began to consider themselves betrayed by leaders who did not show the courage expected of them in the hour of trial. Colonel Gore, strongly reinforced, again advanced upon St Denis, which he entered without resistance on the 2d December, Neilson and Brown having quitted it on the preceding evening. He then marched upon St Hyacinthe, but found it also undefended, and made a vain search for Papineau. The chiefs, renouncing their hopes, were already seeking safety in the territory of the United States. Brown reached it with great difficulty, through many perils; Neilson was

* Papers relating to Lower Canada (16th January 1838), p. 3-6.

taken in a barn, conveyed to Montreal, and thrown into prison. Papineau could not be traced; nor is there any record of his having ever compromised his personal safety in a contest which he had been the main instrument in exciting.

Attempts, however, were made to support the cause from a quarter which, under certain circumstances, might have proved very formidable. The United States contained many individuals disposed to sympathize deeply with the Canadians, and many restless spirits were inclined to join them, allured by the promise of large lots of confiscated land. Even in the present hopeless circumstances, 200 passed the frontier; but before Sir John Colborne could send a force against them, a party of the volunteers of Missisqui county, under the command of Captain Kemp, took arms and drove them back with some loss. Thus the whole of the six counties, so lately in open rebellion, were in a fortnight reduced to perfect tranquillity.*

There remained still the districts of Two Mountains and Terrebonne, north of Montreal, where insurrection had been first organized, and still wore its most determined aspect. Sir John Colborne had judiciously postponed operations against this quarter till, the south being completely tranquillized, he could direct thither his whole force. On the 14th December, he marched in person, with about 1300 regular and volunteer troops, against the large village of St Eustache. The disasters of their brethren elsewhere had spread a well-founded alarm; and the greater number of the men and their leaders, including Girod the supposed commander-in-chief, fled precipitately. About 400 of the most desperate, however, continued to occupy a church and adjoining buildings, which had been carefully fortified; and here so obstinate a stand was made, that a British detachment was at one point obliged to recede. But

* Papers (16th January 1838), pp. 18, 19; (2d February), p. 3.

fire having reached the adjacent edifices, soon spread to the church itself, the defenders of which were thereby speedily dislodged; while the troops, being protected by the houses, did not lose more than one killed and nine wounded.

Colonel Maitland now marched towards St Benoit, the chief village of the Grand Brulé district, which had been the focus of insurrection; but on his way he met a deputation, tendering the most humble submission, and he entered the place without resistance. Unfortunately, the loyal inhabitants, who had been plundered and driven out of the country, could not be restrained from acts of violence, and a considerable portion of the houses were reduced to ashes. Maitland, after occupying St Scholastique, returned to Montreal, leaving the district in a state of perfect tranquillity. The people, complaining that their chiefs, after instigating them to revolt, had deserted them, seemed determined not to be again seduced into such a course. Several of the leaders were taken; Girod himself, being surrounded so that he could not escape, committed suicide.*

Upper Canada, meantime, had become the theatre of important events. For a considerable time, especially since the residence there of Mr Gourlay, a party had existed supporting extreme political opinions. These, it is true, were not imbittered by any feelings arising from difference of race; but many of the inhabitants had migrated from the United States, to whose institutions they were naturally partial. They gained over a number of the British residents, influenced by the usual motives, and who complained especially of the favouritism shown in the granting of land. These grounds of discontent were carefully investigated by the committee of 1828, and instructions issued by Lord Goderich, which here, as in the Lower Province, gave general satisfaction. The discontented party, however, proceeded from one step to

* Papers (29th January 1838), p. 11-14; (2d February), p. 4, &c.

another, till Mackenzie, Duncombe, and other leaders, scarcely made any secret of their desire to separate from Britain and join the American union. In 1834, this party, for the first time, obtained a majority in the Assembly; and though they had hitherto confined themselves to complaints on particular subjects, they now commenced a general opposition to the royal government, and at length, as in the other province, came into violent collision with the legislative council. They transmitted to the king a long and elaborate list of grievances; complaining that the offices in the colony were too numerous, too highly paid, and the holders removable at the pleasure of the crown; that support had been unduly given to particular religious establishments; and that Lord Goderich's recommendations had by no means been fully acted upon. They also urged with the same vehemence as in the sister colony the demand for an elective legislative council.*

This union of the two provinces pushing with equal zeal the most extreme measures, brought affairs into a somewhat hazardous position. When Lord Gosford and the commissioners were sent to Lower Canada, the ministry placed the upper province under Sir Francis Head, a man of literary talent, and of peculiar firmness, shrewdness, and energy of character. Having arrived early in 1836, as already related, he took the straightforward course of at once publishing the extent and limits of his instructions; at the same time assuring the people of his most zealous efforts to remove every practical grievance. The Assembly, however, were by no means satisfied; and another ground of contest soon arose. Sir Francis added to the executive three members, whose appointment was highly satisfactory to the popular party; but as several weeks elapsed without their having been consulted on any subject, they stated in a letter, that they considered themselves thus rendered responsible for measures in which they were allowed

* Instructions to Lord Gosford and Sir Francis Head, p. 55-65.

no share, and therefore tendered their resignation. While accepting it with regret, he maintained that he lay under no obligation to consult them on every measure; but was at perfect liberty to judge of the occasions on which the public interest might require their aid. The House of Assembly immediately took up the affair, and having, agreeably to request, been furnished with a copy of the correspondence, drew up a report, and afterwards a long address to the king, strenuously controverting the governor's doctrine, and in the course of it, broadly charging him with "deviations from candour and truth." Proceeding in the same hostile spirit, they for the first time stopped the supplies; in consequence of which Sir Francis reserved all their money bills for his majesty's decision, and rejected the application for payment of their incidental expenses.*

All hopes of accommodation being thus closed, he determined, on the 28th of May, to make an appeal to the people by a new election. It was contested with extraordinary ardour; and a war of manifestoes, proclamations, and addresses, was forthwith waged between the parties. Perhaps no ruler ever effected more by writing than Sir Francis. The frank, energetic, and popular style in which his addresses were penned, produced an extraordinary effect; and already the peaceable inhabitants had begun to shrink from the extremes into which the popular leaders were hurrying them. These several causes produced the important result, that in the new Assembly a decided majority supported the constitutional side. The demagogues complained to the ministry that this effect had been produced by illegal means, by extraordinary grants of land, and even by violence and bribery. The Assembly, however, after strict inquiry by a committee, declared these allegations to be utterly false, expressing, at the same time, the strongest attachment to the mother-country and to the governor.

During this tranquil and satisfactory state of Upper

* Upper Canada Papers (30th June 1836), pp. 6, 48-50.

Canada, insurrection broke out in the lower province; and Sir Francis being requested to state what force he could spare, his answer was, *All.* He considered it not only practicable, but desirable, that every soldier should be removed out of his district, and a full display thus made of its loyal and peaceful condition. He caused the arms to be deposited in the city hall of Toronto, under charge of the mayor; declining even to place a guard over them, to prevent sudden capture. In this state of things Mackenzie determined to make an attempt upon the capital. Having a number of small detached parties throughout the province, who were ready to obey his mandate, and had even been trained to the use of weapons, he ordered them to assemble on the 4th December on the great road called Yonge Street, leading to Lake Simcoe. Hurrying by cross paths through the forest, they mustered at Montgomerie's Tavern, about four miles from Toronto. Their numbers, at first estimated at 3000, are not supposed to have exceeded 500. With the view of effecting a surprise, they attacked every one going to the city; among whom Colonel Moodie, a distinguished officer, was wounded, and died in a few hours. Alderman Powell, however, having shot one of his assailants, escaped, roused the governor, and gave the alarm; upon which Sir Francis ran to the town hall, where he found the chief justice with a musket on his shoulder, surrounded by a band of brave men, who had hastily assembled. The arms being unpacked and placed in their hands, they posted themselves in a defensive attitude at the windows of the building, and of others flanking it. But Mackenzie, presuming that Powell would instantly give notice, did not venture to advance; a pusillanimous resolution, assuredly, since he could never again expect so favourable an opportunity. By morning, 300 loyalists were mustered; and in the course of the day, Mr Allan M'Nab, speaker of the House of Assembly, arrived with sixty from the Gore District, and others from different quarters raised the number to 500. On the 6th, the force was considered sufficient for offensive operations; but the

governor, anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, sent a message to the insurgents, inviting them to lay down their arms. Mackenzie offered to comply, on condition that a national convention should be called, allowing till two o'clock for the answer; but as no reply could be given to this proposition, arrangements were immediately made for an attack on the following day.

On the 7th December at noon the whole force marched out. In this civic array, principal commands were held by Colonel M'Nab, the present, and Mr Justice Maclean, the late speaker of the Assembly, while the clerk of the House officiated as adjutant-general. The rebels had occupied an elevated position in front of the tavern, where, being in some degree protected by houses, they endeavoured to make a stand; but the militia, advancing to the charge with the utmost enthusiasm, soon broke the whole corps, which dispersed in every direction, Mackenzie himself escaping with extreme precipitation. They were pursued four miles; two of the chiefs were taken; the tavern was burnt to the ground; and the revolt was so completely quashed, that Sir Francis considered he might safely exercise the attribute of mercy, by dismissing the greater part of the misguided prisoners.*

The militia, meantime, had been marching towards Toronto in vast numbers; 2600 from the Newcastle District, and in all upwards of 10,000. Immediate notice was now issued, that they might return to their homes; and those of the eastern districts were authorized to give their aid to Lower Canada. As it was understood, however, that Duncombe had assembled a corps in the London District, which had been a main seat of faction, Colonel M'Nab was sent thither with a sufficient force. On its approach, the chiefs disappeared, and about 300 of their followers laid down their arms, expressing deep regret, and even a readiness to serve in the royal army.

The insurrection had thus been entirely put down, and Upper Canada was every where completely tranquil,

* Papers (16th Jan. 1838), pp. 21, 22; (29th Jan.), pp. 3, 5.

when a sudden danger arose, which threatened to become very serious. Mackenzie fled to the town of Buffalo, in which he held crowded meetings, and kindled a considerable enthusiasm in his cause. Besides the prevalent democratic feeling, commercial distress had thrown numbers out of employment, who were ready to engage in any desperate enterprise. Some of a more opulent class furnished resources; while Van Ransselaer, Sutherland, and other individuals acquainted with military service, presented themselves as leaders of the armament. Thus a small corps was quickly assembled, which took possession of Navy Island, situated in the Niagara channel, between Grand Island and the British shore, which they fortified with thirteen pieces of cannon. Hence Mackenzie issued a proclamation in the assumed name of the provisional government of Upper Canada. Volunteers were invited from that country and from the States; being assured that out of the ten millions of acres which victory would place at their disposal, each should receive 300 in full property. There was to be no more dependence on Downing Street; the Assembly, council, governor, and officers, were all to be elected by the people. Trade was to be freed from all restraints; and in a strain of rhodomontade, it was added, that the largest vessels would be enabled to ascend to Lake Superior. Recruits continued flocking to this post, till their numbers amounted to about a thousand. Colonel M'Nab soon arrived with double that number of militia; but he wanted materials for crossing the channel and forcing the strong position held by the rebels.*

All eyes were now turned to the government of the United States, on which the question of peace or war evidently depended. As soon as the first notice was received, there was displayed the most sincere determination to maintain a strict neutrality. Van Buren, the president, issued two successive proclamations, warning the people of the penalties to which they would be-

* Papers (2d February 1838), p. 12-14.

come liable by engaging in hostilities with a friendly power; and the debates in Congress displayed the most complete unanimity against any measure which might commit the American government in such a contest. Clay, Davis, Benton, Calhoun, leaders of opposite parties, united with one voice in this sentiment. The last of these declared that, "of all calamities which could befall the civilized world, a war with Great Britain would at this moment be the most to be deplored." There was scarcely time for a legislative enactment, but the president appointed General Scott, a veteran officer of energetic and decisive character, to take the command of the disturbed frontier.

Meantime an event occurred, which, while it weakened the insurgents, excited a strong fermentation among their adherents. A small steamer, named the Caroline, had been purchased, or at least was regularly employed by them, between Fort Schlosser on the American shore and Navy Island, conveying to the latter troops and stores. Captain Drew was instructed by Colonel M'Nab to intercept her return. He did not succeed, but seeing her in the channel, moored to the American shore, determined to attack her. He approached undiscovered to within twenty yards; and being then asked the countersign, promised to show it when on deck. The Caroline immediately opened a fire; but the British boarded, and in two minutes were masters of her. Those who resisted were killed or made prisoners; while others, who appeared to be peaceable citizens, were put on shore. The vessel itself, which the strength of the current made it inconvenient to tow across, was set on fire and abandoned, when the stream hurried it rapidly to the brink of the great cataract, down which the flaming mass was precipitated. The wild and picturesque character of this scene acted strongly on the imagination; and the Americans resolutely, though, it would appear, without reason, asserted that unoffending persons had been involved in the massacre, and several even hurried down the awful abyss.

The loss of the Caroline was soon followed by the arrival of General Scott, who took vigorous and effective measures to prevent any supplies or recruits from reaching Navy Island. Meantime the force of the assailants was continually augmented; two companies of regulars, with a train of artillery, had been sent from Lower Canada, and a tremendous cannonade was commenced. The insurgents seeing their position become every day more desperate, determined to evacuate it,—an object which they effected on the 14th January. Van Ransselaer and Mackenzie were arrested by the American authorities, but admitted to bail.

Sutherland, with a party of the fugitives, hastened to the extreme west, where, being reinforced by some adventurers in that quarter, they attempted an establishment on Bois Blanc, an island in the Detroit channel. A body of troops, however, was soon despatched against them; and a vessel, containing not only supplies, but several chiefs dignified with high military titles, was captured. Finding it impossible to maintain themselves there, they sought an asylum on Sugar Island, which belongs to the United States. General Scott, meanwhile, was hastening to the place; but Mason, the local commander, addressed the refugees, and by mere dint of remonstrance prevailed upon them to disperse. Attempts were made at other points to form tumultuary assemblages for invading Canada; but, under the altered circumstances, these did not excite any serious alarm.

Meantime intelligence of the first insurrectionary movements reached Britain, where it excited the strongest sensation. A few of the popular leaders exulted in the event itself, and in the anticipation of its triumphant issue; but the nation in general by no means shared this sentiment. The Tories, though they accused government of having, by want of energy, prepared this convulsion, expressed their cordial concurrence in all the means suggested for its suppression. As the house was about to rise for the Christmas holidays, ministers proposed that, instead of postponing their meeting, as usual,

till the beginning of February, they should fix it for the 16th January, when, according to the course of events, suitable resolutions might be adopted.

Parliament had no sooner reassembled than information arrived, which left no room to doubt that the rebellion would be suppressed without having assumed any formidable character. The aims of the government were therefore directed towards reorganizing the executive on such a footing as, without suppressing Canadian liberty, might secure future tranquillity. But it was considered indispensable, for the present at least, to suspend the constitution of the lower province. A council was to be named by the queen, which, with the governor, might exercise the functions now performed by the two legislative bodies; but their powers were not to last beyond the 1st November 1840, nor were any of their enactments, unless continued by the proper authority, to be valid beyond the 1st November 1842.

Sir John Colborne, then acting as provisional governor of Lower Canada, was instructed to carry these measures into immediate execution. The ministry, however, had determined upon a farther step, with a view to the ultimate settlement of the province. The Earl of Durham was solicited and prevailed upon to undertake its government as well as that of all British America, and also to turn his attention towards an improved plan for its future management. His lordship's high reputation as a statesman, and the liberality of his views on political subjects, seemed to afford a security that he would act with vigour, and at the same time with a strict regard to national freedom. He was empowered to form a species of representative council composed of thirteen members from each province, but to use them merely as advisers, and to call and dismiss them at pleasure.*

On the 29th May 1838 his lordship arrived at Que-

* Correspondence relative to the affairs of British North America (ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 11th Feb. 1839), pp. 1, 7.

bec, where he was received in the most cordial manner, for all parties seemed to unite in expecting from him a settlement of those dissensions which had so greatly distracted the country. In his subsequent progress to other districts, and to Upper Canada as far as Niagara, he met similar expressions of confidence and congratulation. He was soon, however, called to decide upon a delicate and difficult question, which Sir John Colborne had thought it expedient to reserve for his determination. Wolfred Neilson, Bouchette, Viger, and other individuals of some distinction, were lying in the jail of Montreal charged with high treason. Some strong punishment was necessary to mark their crime, and deter from its repetition; yet an impartial jury could not be expected for their trial, which besides would have re-opened all those party animosities which it was the object of his lordship to appease. Under this view he adopted the following course: The prisoners, having been induced to make a confession of guilt, were sentenced to be deported to Bermuda, and to be there kept in strict surveillance. If they should ever return to Canada without leave from the governor, they were to suffer the penalty of death. The same was awarded to Papineau and others implicated in the late rebellion, but who, after its disastrous issue, had fled the country.*

As soon as this ordinance was known in Britain, it created an unusual excitement in the legislature. Lord Brougham, in the House of Peers, made a motion, declaring it illegal as condemning to death without trial, and to transportation to a colony which was not within the jurisdiction of the governor-general; but, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he proposed a grant of indemnity. This vote, though strenuously opposed by Lord Melbourne, was carried in the Upper House by a considerable majority. Ministers then having received from the law-officers of the crown an unfavourable report, at least as to the last particular, considered it impossible to make

* Correspondence, pp. 103, 104, 128, 129.

any farther resistance. They annulled the ordinance; but at the same time conveyed to Lord Durham expressions of their regret, of their general approbation of his measures, and of the unaltered confidence with which they regarded his administration.*

His lordship, however, was not of a character to brook this interposition. He had, it is true, passed the limits of strict law; but he maintained that these were scarcely applicable in the critical and convulsed state of the province; that the sentence was lenient; and on the principle of *volenti nulla fit injuria*, the parties concerned could not be wronged by a decision in which they had cheerfully acquiesced. In short, there being no substantial injustice inflicted, Lord Durham thought he had reason to complain that his scheme was not allowed a fair trial. He had perhaps an equal ground of dissatisfaction in reference to the hostile interference of the opposition lords, and more especially because the ministers, his employers, did not resist it to the utmost. Yet it would certainly have been more magnanimous on his part had he endeavoured, under every discouragement, to have done his best to accomplish his undertaking. He yielded too far to passion and pride when, even before receiving the official accounts, he publicly announced his intention of throwing up the administration. He did not even follow the established course of requesting her majesty's permission to resign, and waiting till he received it. In announcing, too, the disallowance of the ordinance, he commented on the decision with a severity which was considered irregular, and tending to compromise the royal authority. On the 1st November his lordship set sail from Quebec, and on the 26th arrived at Plymouth.†

Meantime a fresh storm of rebellion brooded over the province. In the course of the summer, even amid apparent quiet, the burning of a steam-vessel called the Sir Robert Peel in the St Lawrence, and the acquittal of the murderers of Chartrand in the face of the clearest evi-

* Correspondence, p. 55-60.
† Ibid. pp. 206-209, 243, 245.

dence, showed that the spirit of disaffection was still deeply cherished. By the beginning of winter arrangements had been made for a general rising of the *habitans*, supported by a numerous body of American citizens who, under the title of *sympathizers*, had vehemently espoused their cause. Arms and ammunition had been clandestinely introduced; and a species of association, bound by secret oaths and signs, had been formed along the whole frontier. Lord Durham imputes this movement to the proceedings at home, which had shaken the confidence in his authority, and raised the hopes of the disaffected; but Sir John Colborne considers that those preparations had been actively pursued ever since the preceding June. The government of the United States, though they had no adequate power to prevent the part taken by their subjects, showed a good disposition by giving the first intimation of what was going on to Mr Fox, the British ambassador at Washington. The tidings were soon confirmed from other quarters; and Sir John Colborne lost no time in putting the province in a state of defence, and procuring an additional force from Nova Scotia.*

On the night of the 3d November, a concerted rising took place in all the southern counties of Montreal District; but owing to some failure of arrangement, the stations along the Richelieu were not found supplied with arms according to appointment, so that most of the inhabitants there dispersed and returned to their homes. The chief seat of insurrection was now farther west, between that river and the St Lawrence. There three arch-rebels, Dr Robert Nelson, Côte, and Gagnon, had collected about 4000 men, and established their head-quarters at Napierville. Their first object was to open a communication with their friends in the States, for which purpose 400 men were detached to the frontier. There a body of British volunteers, as brave as loyal, had stationed themselves, by whom the rebels were attacked

* Correspondence, pp. 106, 125, 174-180, 222, 246.

and obliged to retreat with great loss. To retrieve this disaster, Dr Nelson, with upwards of 900 men, marched against the loyalists. The latter, only 200 strong, took post in Odelltown chapel, on which the enemy commenced a brisk attack, but, after two hours and a half, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of one hundred killed and wounded. The defenders had an officer and five men killed, and nine wounded.*

Meantime Major-general Sir James M'Donnell, under orders from the governor, with seven regiments of the line, crossed the St Lawrence, and marched upon Napierville. The rebels, discouraged by former losses, after a vain attempt to unite their forces, dispersed in every direction without firing a shot. They still retained a post at Beauharnois; but Colonel Carmichael, with a detachment of regulars and 1000 Glengarry militia, drove them out, though with the loss of two men killed and the same number wounded. Mr Ellice and a party of friends, who had been made prisoners by them at the outset, were allowed to return to Montreal. On the 11th, a week only after the first movement, M'Donnell could announce that the insurrection was completely at an end, without the rebels having been able to open any communication with their supporters beyond the frontier.†

We must now turn to Upper Canada, where, even before the former outbreak, Sir Francis Head had resigned. The immediate cause was the disapprobation expressed by Lord Glenelg for his removing Judge Ridout on account of his democratical principles, and his refusing to obey an order to raise to the bench Mr Bidwell, late speaker of the Assembly, and an opposition leader. He at the same time, in no measured terms, condemned the system of conciliation hitherto pursued in the Colonial Office, whose members he even branded as republicans; insisting that a stern uncompromising maintenance of the monarchical principle, and the exclusion from

* Correspondence, pp. 248, 261, 262.
† Ibid. p. 260-263.

office of all opposed to it, was the only basis on which Canada could be governed. Ministers unwillingly accepted his resignation; while the loyal inhabitants, among whom he had rendered himself highly popular, expressed on the occasion deep regret and disgust. Colonel Sir George Arthur, who had previously held a similar situation in Van Diemen's Land, was appointed to succeed him.*

The new governor soon found himself involved in difficult circumstances; for early in June, bands to the number of 1000 or 1200 Americans crossed the Niagara channel, and endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection. They attacked a party of fourteen lancers posted in an inn, and, by setting it on fire, obliged them to surrender. But no sooner did they learn that Sir George had arrived at Niagara, and that the country was rising against them, than they hastily recrossed the frontier, leaving about forty prisoners, among whom were Morrow and Waite, the first and second in command. In the end of June, a smaller party passed the St Clair, and invaded the Western District; but finding themselves unsupported, and the militia advancing, they returned, after losing a few of their number, who fell into the hands of the pursuers.†

The summer now passed in comparative quietness, though the great movement at the beginning of November continued to be deeply felt along the upper frontier. Almost simultaneously with the rising in Montreal District, a body of about 400 sailed from the vicinity of Sackett's Harbour and landed at Prescott. On the 13th, Colonel Young with what force he could muster, and aided by Captain Sandom with an armed steamer, compelled a large proportion of them to disperse, while the rest took refuge in a windmill and an adjacent house built of stone, whence they could not be dislodged.

* Narrative by Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. (8vo, London, 1839, 2d edition), p. 218-344.

† Correspondence, p. 314-321.

Eighteen British were here killed and wounded. In the course of the day Colonel Dundas arrived with four companies from Kingston, but considered the buildings, the walls of which were three or four feet thick, too strong to be reduced without cannon. A few guns and some additional troops being brought up, an attack was commenced on the 16th, when the party within the stone building, after some stand, sought to escape among the brushwood, but were all captured; upon which those in the mill displayed a white flag, and surrendered at discretion. The whole number of prisoners was 159. The militia, among whom some lukewarmness had been suspected, showed the utmost zeal, and mustered to the extent of 5000.*

The Niagara frontier was found by the enemy so well guarded that no attempt was made there. But early in the morning of the 4th December, about 350, organized at Detroit, landed near Sandwich, set fire to a steamer and to the barracks, and killed several individuals in cold blood. Being as cowardly as cruel, they were no sooner attacked by a party of militia, than they fled either to the woods or to the American shore, leaving twenty-six killed and twenty-five prisoners.†

The captives on the former occasion had been treated with extraordinary lenity; but this forbearance not having produced its due effect, and being loudly complained of by the inhabitants, it was judged necessary to exercise greater rigour on the present occasion. A considerable number of the ringleaders were accordingly put to death, and the rest condemned to severe or ignominious punishments.

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* Correspondence, p. 354-361.

† Ibid. p. 369-372.

CHAPTER V.

Topography of Lower Canada.

Boundaries—Surface—Divisions—District of Quebec—City of that Name—Situation; Edifices; Upper and Lower Town; Vicinity—Fall of Montmorenci—Isle of Orleans—Tadoussac and the Saguenay—Lower Coast—Shores above Quebec—Trois Rivières, Town and District—Montreal District—City—Catholic Cathedral—Other Edifices—Rural Districts—Settlements on the Ottawa—Country South of the St Lawrence—Settlements on the Richelieu—Southern Part of Trois Rivières District—Eastern Townships—American Land Company's Territory—Southern Part of Quebec—Townships—Lower Shores of the St Lawrence—Gaspé—General Summary.

It has not been usual, in the volumes of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, to enter into minute topographical details of the various countries described. A general survey is all that is required in most instances; but in regard to British America, and particularly to Canada, a different course appears to be expedient. These provinces are chiefly inhabited by a British population, and a continued stream of immigration has been, and still is, directed towards them. The adventurer who is to remove his abode to the new world, and choose there a situation for life, is deeply interested in knowing the advantages and disadvantages of each particular district. The numerous individuals, too, in this country, who have now friends settled in that remote region, cannot but feel curious as to the locality in which the objects of their affection are established. We propose therefore to give in this chapter a somewhat minute description

of Lower Canada, and, in the next, a similar account of the Upper Province.

The former has for its eastern and northern boundaries the Gulf of St Lawrence, Labrador, and the high ridge which separates the tributaries of the St Lawrence from the rivers falling into Hudson's Bay. The northern limit terminates about 80° west longitude, where a line drawn due south to Lake Temiscaming, on the Ottawa, separates the two Canadian provinces. The river just named forms the western boundary, till it approaches Montreal, whence a line drawn from it due south, passes through Lake St Francis, and extends for some space southward of the St Lawrence. The southern frontier is parallel to the whole course of that great river, at a distance of from fifteen to a hundred and thirty miles, and is formed on the south by Chaleur Bay, New Brunswick, and the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York. The precise limits, however, still remain dependent on the important territorial question now agitated between Great Britain and the United States.

This extensive province lies between 45° and 52° north latitude, and between 57° 50′ and 80° 6′ of west longitude, making thus about 950 miles in length, and 490 in breadth. The entire area is estimated by the best authorities at 205,863 square miles, of which not less than 3200 are supposed to consist of lakes and rivers.*

The northern part of this region consists throughout of a bold, rugged, and rocky territory, watered by almost innumerable streams and torrents, and diversified by many chains of small lakes. The soil is generally unproductive, and no settlements have been attempted in any part of it; yet recent surveys have discovered various detached spots embosomed among the hills, or on the banks of the rivers, that appear susceptible of high cultivation. This description of country comes down and borders upon the St Lawrence, along its

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 173, 182.

lower course, as high as Cape Tourment, only thirty miles below Quebec. It then recedes, and leaves, between itself and the courses of the St Lawrence and Ottawa, an extensive and generally fruitful plain, varying from fifteen to forty miles in breadth. Detached eminences and branches from the northern mountains serve only to variegate the surface, and give to it a more picturesque appearance.* On the south of the St Lawrence there is a similar plain, not quite so spacious, but somewhat more fertile and beautiful. The high lands cover only a small portion of its surface, except in the most eastern district of Gaspé, which presents throughout a rugged surface, similar to that of the opposite shore, though including a much larger proportion of good soil.†

Lower Canada is divided into three principal districts, Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, and two small ones, Gaspé and St Francis. This last, however, is so diminutive, and its townships so enclosed by those of Montreal and Trois Rivières, that its subdivisions have been included within their counties. QUEBEC is divided into thirteen counties,—Beauce, Bellechasse, Dorchester, Kamouraska, L'Islet, Lotbinière, Megantic, Montmorenci, Orleans, Portneuf, Quebec, Rimouski, and Saguenay. These are subdivided into seventy-nine seigniories, twelve fiefs, and thirty-eight townships. MONTREAL comprehends nineteen counties,—Acadie, Beauharnois, Berthier, Chambly, Lachenaye, La Prairie, L'Assomption, Missisqui, Montreal, Ottawa, Richelieu, Rouville, St Hyacinthe, Shefford, Stanstead (this county includes five townships of St Francis), Terrebonne, Two Mountains, Vaudreuil, and Verchères. These are subdivided into sixty-three seigniories, eight fiefs, and forty-five town-

* Lieutenant-colonel Bouchette considers this plain as terminating, or, according to his order, commencing with the Grenville Hills on the Ottawa; but as the upper banks of that river are still more level than those of the St Lawrence, that cluster seemingly can only be considered a branch from the great northern range.

† Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 185, 281-290, 298-304, 324.

ships, besides fourteen others newly formed beyond the limits of the counties. Trois Rivières includes six counties,—Champlain, Drummond, Nicolet, St Maurice, Sherbrooke, and Yamaska; subdivided into twenty-five seigniories, nine fiefs, and fifty-three townships. Drummond is partly, and Sherbrooke almost wholly, composed of townships belonging to St Francis. Gaspé contains only two counties,—Bonaventure and Gaspé, comprising one seigniory, six fiefs, and ten townships. It may be observed, that large portions of the three principal districts, and, indeed, the most valuable part of Trois Rivières, are situated on the south side of the river.*

The subdivisions above stated, founded upon the feudal system, according to which the French settlers were established, is important to them as connected with various judicial and political arrangements, but have little interest for British readers, or even residents. We shall therefore, after the example of Colonel Bouchette, pay more regard to the natural divisions, at least to the extent of considering under separate heads the territories, as situated respectively on the northern and on the southern bank of the St Lawrence. We purpose, not, however, like him, wholly to disregard provincial marches, but will consider successively the districts of Quebec, Trois Rivières, and Montreal, beginning with those on the northern side of the great river boundary.

The district of Quebec occupies the whole coast watered by the gulf and river of St Lawrence, from the eastern limit of the colony to the mouth of the river St Anne, about thirty miles below Trois Rivières, and thence in a direct line to the northern boundary. The greater part of this extensive section belongs to the uncultivated portion of the country, and presents a chaos of mountains, lakes, and torrents, tenanted only by wild beasts and a few wandering Indians. At Cape Tourment, however, it begins to give place to a tract

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 175-181.

of a much more pleasing character; and though still traversed by rugged eminences, it contains much fertile land, which is described as being at once romantic and beautiful. On the northern side of the St Lawrence it is divided into the counties of Quebec, Montmorenci, Orleans, and Port Neuf, and comprised, in 1831, a population of 56,615.

In the midst of this fine landscape stands Quebec, the capital of British America. It is seated on a promontory stretching out into the river, which, by means of it and Point Levi on the opposite side, is narrowed to about three quarters of a mile, though immediately below it spreads out into a wide basin. Cape Diamond, the most elevated point of the city, is reckoned by an eminent traveller 1000 feet high; a proof of the fallacious nature of such estimates, since the more accurate observation of Bouchette fixes it at 345. Above a hundred feet lower is an elevated plain, on which are built the castle and the whole of what is termed the upper town. Thence a perpendicular steep of above 200 feet descends to the banks of the St Lawrence; and in the narrow interval between this precipice and the river is the lower town, the crowded seat of business and shipping.

The scenery of Quebec and the surrounding country is described by all travellers as rivalling in picturesque beauty the most favoured parts of the earth. The navigator who ascends the St Lawrence, after he has passed the Isle of Orleans and entered the broad basin already mentioned, where he first comes in sight of this capital, is struck with intense admiration. He sees its citadel crowning a lofty cliff, its castle and batteries overhanging a range of formidable steeps, the river crowded with numerous vessels of every form and size, from the huge timber-raft to the bark canoe. The fall of Montmorenci appears dashing its white foam almost to the clouds; and on each side is a long range of fertile and beautiful shore. On ascending Cape Diamond a still grander and more extensive panorama bursts upon his view, combining all the boldness

of rude with the richness of cultivated nature. Up and down the magnificent stream of the St Lawrence is a reach of more than forty miles, on which sails almost innumerable are in ceaseless movement. Below is the beautiful Isle of Orleans; while the opposite coast is diversified by a great variety of natural and cultivated scenery. To the north appears the river St Charles winding amid fertile valleys and hills, with villages hanging on their sides; while the prospect is closed by a bold screen of mountains. Mr Weld prefers the views from the upper town, where, though fewer objects are seen, they appear more distinct and brilliant. This traveller, after visiting a great part of Europe and America, gives to them a preference over every thing that he had observed on either continent. Mr M'Gregor considers them similar, but much superior to those from the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling.

Quebec, from its situation and the care with which it has been fortified, is a very strong town, and considered the chief bulwark of British America. On the summit of the lofty headland just described, stands the citadel. The rock consists of gray granite mixed with quartz crystals, and a species of dark coloured slate. About forty acres are here covered with works, carried to the edge of the precipice, and connected by massive walls and batteries with the other defences of the place. The main body of the fortress, however, consists of the upper town, whose fortifications enclose a circuit of about two miles and three quarters. The face of the hill towards the river is so extremely precipitous, that it requires only a common wall to protect it, though the gate leading from the lower town is defended by heavy cannon, and the steep approach by Mountain Street is enfiladed and flanked by many guns of large calibre. As the declivity towards the interior and the plains of Abraham does not present the same abrupt face, but descends by successive ridges, it has been strengthened by a series of regular works, including ditch, covered way, and glacis, with some exterior defences to obstruct the approach of

an enemy. It seems probable, therefore, that the place would hold out against any attack, till the approach of the rigorous winter should compel the assailants to raise the siege.

The upper town, which these fortifications enclose, forms the chief part of Quebec, and the residence of all the principal inhabitants not engaged in trade. It is a tolerably handsome old-looking town; the houses being mostly of stone, partly roofed with tin. The streets are well paved, and in some instances macadamized, but they are much too narrow, as the broadest does not exceed thirty-two feet. St Louis Street, the almost exclusive residence of the fashionable circle, has been lately adorned with several elegant mansions. The public buildings are commodious and substantial, without much pretension to architectural ornament. The castle of St Louis, a large plain baronial-looking edifice, forms the dwelling of the governor. It comprises a space of four acres, once fortified; but the great extension of the works has rendered its walls superfluous, and they are allowed to go to decay. The apartments are large and commodious, and the veranda commands a magnificent vista up the river. Adjoining is a spacious structure, once occupied by government offices, now chiefly employed for public entertainments. The enclosure contains two excellent and well-cultivated gardens.

Of religious edifices the chief is the Roman Catholic cathedral, being 216 feet long by 130 in breadth, and capable of containing a congregation of 4000. The interior has a lofty and solemn aspect, but the outside is heavy and not in very good taste. There are several other Catholic churches. The English cathedral, though smaller, being only 136 feet long by 75 broad, and in a simple style, is considered extremely neat. The Scotch church is much inferior. The monastic establishments are spacious. The Hotel-Dieu, founded in 1637 by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, includes a convent, church, and courtyard, besides cemetery and gardens. The range

of buildings is extensive, but without any ornament; and its chief use is as an hospital, in which respect it affords the greatest benefit to the colony. A prioress and thirty-two nuns are continually employed in ministering to the sick, with a great degree of attention and skill: hence government have been induced to make occasional grants in addition to the considerable revenues attached to the establishment. The Ursuline convent is a neat building in the heart of the city, surrounded by fine gardens. It was founded in 1639 by Madame de la Peltrie, chiefly for the purposes of education. The inmates, forty-six in number, observe a somewhat rigid seclusion, but they instruct, in reading, writing, and needlework, a certain number of girls, comprehending even Protestants. They are very assiduous in embroidery and other ornamental works, especially for ecclesiastical vestments; and the fruits of their industry are often sold at high prices, which are thrown into the common stock. The spacious monastery of the Jesuits, 224 feet by 200, surrounded by noble gardens, was forfeited on the suppression of that order, and at the conquest was regarded as crown property. It was then converted into a place of exercise for the troops, and to the regret of many its fine trees were cut down; but the legislature of the province have lately petitioned for its being restored to its original purpose of education. The large edifice called the Seminary, with an extensive domain attached to it, was founded in 1663 by M. de Petré, with a view to the instruction of the Catholic clergy. It is now open to all students of that persuasion, who are initiated in the different branches of knowledge upon paying the trifling sum of 5s. annually to defray incidental expenses. Pupils, indeed, may be boarded as well as taught for £12, 10s. a-year.

The buildings employed for public purposes are ample and commodious, though mostly reared for different objects. The bishop's palace formed an extremely elegant residence, with a chapel and many conveniences; but, in return for an annuity, it was relinquished, and now ac-

commodates the two branches of the legislature. About the year 1803 a very handsome house was erected by a joint-stock company in the best situation the town afforded, with the view of being employed as a hotel. This plan, however, being abandoned, it was sold to the chief-justice, and is now leased at £500 a-year by government, who give it up to the use of their chief civil departments. It contains also the Museum of the Literary and Historical Society founded in 1824, and which in 1829 was united to that for the promotion of arts and sciences. The collection is said to be valuable in regard to mineralogy and botany. There is a library also, though only in its infancy. The Artillery Barracks form a long range of building, somewhat roughly constructed, but substantial and convenient. The Armoury contains equipments for 20,000 men, and, being extremely well arranged, excites the admiration of strangers.

The market is held in an open space 250 feet long, with a breadth in some places of about 165. A large building with stalls has been reared in the centre, though the chief business is still transacted on the open ground. It is held every day, but Saturday is the busiest. The crowds of carters with their wives and families, bringing in the productions of the surrounding country, their brawlings and vociferations in bad French and broken English, form a scene of noise and confusion, amid which appear a few Indian squaws, and the gentlemen of the city and garrison going round to make purchases. Every kind of provision is abundant and cheap except fish, which is less plentiful than might be expected from the situation. Among public places may also be mentioned the Grand Parade in front of the castle, surrounded by the most distinguished edifices; and also the Esplanade, a large level space along the interior wall, which is the chief theatre for military exercises.

The lower town is a narrow crowded range of buildings, extending along the base of the precipice. The spot on which it stands is entirely the creation of human industry; for originally the waves at high water beat the

very foot of the rock. Wharfs, however, have been founded and carried out into the river, though nowhere farther than 240 yards; and on these streets have been erected. So limited, indeed, is the space that the quarter beyond Cape Diamond communicates with the rest only by a path cut in many places through the solid rock. This part of Quebec is compared to the most irregular and confused districts of Edinburgh. It is connected with the upper town by what is called Mountain Street, which formerly was not passable for carriages without extreme difficulty, but has of late been much improved. The Break-neck Stairs, as they are denominated, are more commodious for foot passengers. Besides extensive wharfs, the lower town contains the Quebec Bank, which, in addition to apartments for its appropriate purpose, has others for a fire assurance company and a subscription library, the most extensive and valuable in Canada. The government warehouses are also spacious, and the custom-house having been found inconvenient, the foundation-stone of a new one was laid in 1831. Amid wharfs lately formed on the flat beach of the St Charles, has been erected the exchange building, an elegant structure, containing a spacious reading-room and several others devoted to commercial purposes. Projects are in contemplation for erecting a pier, which would also serve as a bridge across the estuary; an improvement which, while it would afford ample space for the extension of the lower town, would enable the largest vessels and rafts to lie in security, instead of resorting, as at present, to coves in the neighbourhood.

On the inland side of the fortress, stretching more than a mile into the interior, are the large suburbs of St Roch and St John. They are built regularly, but chiefly of wood, and with accommodations suited only to the lower ranks; though of late, indeed, they have been adorned with many stone houses of a superior class. There is also a smaller suburb named St Louis.

Quebec maintains a constant communication with Point Levi on the opposite shore, whence it derives a

great part of its provisions. A steam ferry-boat plies every half-hour, making the trip in about ten or fifteen minutes. The navigation also being very properly left free, the river is constantly covered with numerous canoes generally hollowed out from the trunks of trees. The boatmen brave the most tempestuous weather, and though often driven several leagues out of their course, are scarcely ever wrecked. Even in winter, when they must encounter blocks of ice with which the channel is encumbered, they contrive with ropes and iron-pointed poles to raise their vessels upon the surface of the masses, and drag them along till they find open water on which to launch it. When this channel is frozen entirely over, the communication becomes still more easy. A line is marked with beacons placed by the Grand Voyer, over which hay, firewood, with other bulky articles, are transported abundantly and at reduced prices. This advantage occurs only occasionally; but every year the channel between the Isle of Orleans and the northern coast is frozen over, when the produce of that fertile spot, reserved for the occasion, finds a ready conveyance. Formerly milk and vegetables were brought in a frozen state from distant quarters; but now these commodities are procured in abundance from the neighbourhood.

The society of Quebec is more gay and polished than is usual in colonial cities, where the pursuit of wealth forms too often the sole object of the inhabitants. Here, besides merchants, there are a number of British civil and military officers, and a body of French noblesse, living on their domains. These different classes do not, it is said, always thoroughly amalgamate. The French, though often superior in manners and habits, are in some degree disdained by the ruling people, which they do not well brook. Among the English themselves, the chief test of rank is an introduction at the castle, without which strangers will find themselves placed below those whom they would have been classed above in the mother country. The hotels are good, and, after the fashion of the United States, the inmates com-

monly dine at a *table d'hôte*, which often affords to the visiter the opportunity of meeting with interesting characters. He can, however, if he wishes, have private apartments.*

The cultivated country northward of Quebec does not extend far, being closely hemmed in by the range of mountains, and settlement being obstructed through the very imperfect titles by which alone the land can be conveyed. Immediately westward, in front of the fortifications, are the Plains of Abraham, memorable as the scene whereon Quebec was gained by the gallant Wolfe, and whence only it can be successfully assailed. The summit, indeed, is 330 feet high, which does all but command that loftiest pinnacle on which Fort Diamond stands. As some security against this danger, four martello towers have been so placed as to range over the whole plain. Immediately to the north a road leads along the heights to the village of St Foix, and to the beautifully secluded dingle of Sillery, about four leagues in length and one in breadth, formerly the seat of a missionary settlement, which we shall have occasion again to mention. In the same direction from the suburb of St Roch is the Huron village of Lorette, near the banks of the river St Charles, which, in this neighbourhood, forms a beautiful cascade. Onward still, twelve miles from Quebec, is the lake of the same name, about four miles long and one broad. It is divided into two parts by projecting ledges, and the upper one especially is finely diversified by rocks, woods, bays, hills, and lofty mountains in the distance.

Crossing the St Charles, and going eastward through the agreeable village of Beauport, we reach the Falls of Montmorenci, one of the most picturesque objects in all America. They do not indeed pour down that immense flood of water which renders Niagara so wonderful; but the height is greater, being 240 feet, and

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 241-276. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 474-485. Weld, p. 201-202.

the stream descends the whole of this vast steep in one white sheet of foam. It is received into a vast basin, whence arise clouds of vapour that display the most brilliant tints of the rainbow. M. Bouchette imagines that even Switzerland, though it contains much loftier falls, has none which descend in so unbroken a mass. He overlooks, we think, the Staubbach, whose stream, however, is less copious than that of Montmorenci. In winter, when the falling waters congeal into icicles, these accumulate above each other, till they on some occasions swell to an amazing magnitude, and present a most curious spectacle. About fifty years ago General Haldimand, then governor of Canada, built a house close to the fall, and commanding a most advantageous view of it. This was afterwards occupied by the Duke of Kent, and is now the residence of Mr Paterson, who has erected upon the river an extensive range of saw-mills.*

Beyond Montmorenci, the country, though somewhat rugged, continues to be cultivated and even traversed by commodious roads. Here occur the villages of Chateau Richer and St Anne. Immediately after, it is necessary to cross the precipitous mountain forming Cape Tourment, about 1890 feet high, and the commencement of a long series of similar heights, called "the Capes," which render this part of the St Lawrence grand but desolate. The road over them is extremely steep, and till lately by no means commodious; but measures have now been taken to improve it. In St Paul's Bay, beneath the shelter of a circuit of hills, a considerable settlement has been formed; while in the neighbouring one of La Petite Rivière, the exposure is so excellent, that fruit is produced of quality equal to that of Montreal or Niagara. The road then leads over bleak heights, through the village of Eboulemens to Mal Bay, where the land communication and all regular

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 265-280. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 492, 493. Weld, p. 205.

intercourse are found to terminate. A Scottish officer received this seigniory for his services in the American war, and has so much improved it, that it now contains about 400 inhabitants.

Before proceeding farther, we must notice the island of Orleans, about five miles below Quebec, already mentioned in connexion with the fine expanse of the river. It is not less than twenty miles long and four or five broad, dividing the stream into two nearly equal channels. Some parts are considerably elevated, and crowned with forests; but the larger proportion is under very high cultivation. Below are two smaller islands, called Goose and Crane, with rich pastures and numerous inhabitants.*

The coast below Mal Bay becomes altogether wild and desolate, while a facing of sandhills towards the water renders its aspect still more dreary. This continues to the mouth of the river Saguenay, one of the boldest features in this remarkable country. It has been traced upwards only to Lake St John, about 140 miles from its mouth. That expanse, estimated at 100 miles in circumference, was found by M. Bouchette receiving large rivers from various quarters; but as to their sources and relative magnitude nothing certain is yet known. In the districts adjoining to this lake, while there is much mountainous and barren land, considerable tracts, comprising in all about 340,000 acres, were considered quite fit for cultivation. About midway down, the Saguenay is joined from the south by the Chicoutimi, on the banks of which extends a tract called the Peninsula, believed to contain nearly 400,000 acres of fine arable soil. At some distance below, sixty miles from the mouth, the Bay des Has presents a magnificent harbour, capable of receiving the largest ships, and surrounded by vast tracts of fertile territory. The Saguenay is navigable for vessels of great bulk two leagues

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 165, 280, 281. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 470-472.

above Chicoutimi. About five miles farther down, the level character of its banks ceases, and, to the point where it falls into the St Lawrence, they are bold, steep, and rocky, shooting up sometimes into precipitous cliffs 2000 feet high, thinly clad with fir, birch, and other trees of a northern climate. The breadth, unless when it spreads into small lakes, seldom exceeds half a mile; but the depth is very extraordinary, varying from 600 to 900 feet. Upon joining the great river now mentioned, here eighteen miles broad, it changes for some space the direction of the stream; and presents the remarkable circumstance, that while the St Lawrence at this place is only 240 feet deep, the Saguenay, above the junction, approaches to a thousand. A ledge of rocks, through which there is a profound though rather narrow channel, checks, in some degree, the discharge of its copious waters.

The whole of this tract, as well above as below Tadoussac, is occupied by a body called the King's Posts' Company, who early obtained a lease of it from the French government, under the title of "the Domaine," with the exclusive right of trading, hunting, and fishing, both along the coast and in the interior. This privilege, which they still preserve, must have materially contributed to keep these tracts in their unimproved state; for the Company maintain only a few small stations, scattered over the desert, with the view of collecting furs. The principal is Tadoussac, for some time the capital of the French settlements, but now reduced to a paltry village. The harbour is spacious, and secure from almost every wind, though the entrance to vessels descending the St Lawrence is somewhat intricate. The Company have also stations at Chicoutimi, and at the mouth of one of the rivers falling into the St John. It is remarkable that on both these remote spots there are remains of settlements early formed by the Jesuits.

Below the Saguenay there is still a coast pertaining to Canada 665 miles in length, but of a very uninviting description. The land gradually loses its lofty

character, and at Portneuf, forty miles farther down, it presents only eminences of moderate elevation. Beyond the immediate border it is a deep swamp covered with moss; while the interior, according to the report of the Indians and Esquimaux, by whom alone it is traversed, is composed of rocky cliffs, and low hills scattered over barren plains, diversified with thick forests of stunted pines, and chequered with small lakes. There seems reason to suspect, that the hopes once entertained of finding here tracts of cultivable land, will never be fulfilled; but ideas are still cherished that the district may contain valuable minerals. Portneuf itself consists only of three or four houses, a chapel, and several stores; yet, after passing such vast ranges of dreary coast, the eye is agreeably relieved by the view of this picturesque and solitary little settlement. It is succeeded at long intervals by the posts of Les Isles, Jeremie, the Seven Islands, and Mingan. On Mount Pelée, called also Pointe des Monts, a lighthouse has been recently erected. Here, in mid-channel, is the large island of Anticosti, 125 miles long and 30 in its greatest breadth. The soil has been found unfavourable, and all attempts to colonize it have been relinquished. It attracts attention chiefly by the dangers which its shores present to the mariner; and, in 1809, an effort was made to obviate them, by forming two government stations, where the means of supply and relief might be deposited. The agents, however, have in many instances been careless; and the coast, accordingly, has been the scene of most calamitous shipwrecks. It is now in contemplation to erect a lighthouse at each end; an improvement certainly much to be desired.*

Returning to Quebec, and surveying the part of the province above that capital, we discover an entirely different scene. The bold range of the northern mountains gradually disappears, and the country, first diversi-

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 168, 169, 283-294. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 467-470.

fied by varied eminences, afterwards sinks into a level plain. The road, which formerly passed close to the river, is now not unfrequently carried through the interior, with the view of being rendered at once more direct and level; but though kept in good repair, it is in a great measure superseded by the extreme facilities for steam navigation. This territory is traversed by considerable rivers, fed by the mountains and lakes of the upper country, and flowing with a full and rapid current. These are chiefly the Portneuf, the Jacques Cartier, and the St Anne, of which the last is the largest, and at its mouth the boundary of the province begins. Considerable rafts of timber are floated down these streams to the different saw-mills. The Jacques Cartier rolls a complete torrent; and its wild rocky scenery, and rude bridges, present quite a Norwegian aspect. Generally, however, the region has a smiling appearance, comprising the concessions, or fiefs and seigniories held by the French Canadians, under regular though not very full cultivation; a considerable space being usually left in the rear, for the mere purpose of supplying timber and fuel. Closely following each other, they form almost one continued village, with neat churches at short distances; a pleasing though not varied scene. There are no places which can claim the appellation of towns. New Liverpool, several miles above Quebec, has some wharfs and mooring stages, at which a few vessels usually unload. St Anne, situated near the extremity of the province, is the chief station on the road to Trois Rivières, and has two or three good inns.*

The district of Trois Rivières, extending from the mouth of the St Anne to the upper part of Lake St Peter, is less important and populous than the two others; yet it embraces a great extent of fertile land, though chiefly on the southern side of the St Lawrence. The northern part, which in 1831 contained a population of

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 237-239. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 495.

23,900, is divided into the counties of Champlain and St Maurice. The principal town, bearing the appellation of the district, lies at the mouth of the St Maurice, a large tributary stream, which, being divided by islands into three branches at first supposed to be distinct, has given this name to the place. It was founded in 1618, in contemplation of its becoming the main emporium of the fur-trade; but since that traffic has been extended into the more remote regions of America, Montreal was found a much more convenient station, and has absorbed it almost entirely. The town now chiefly depends upon the limited quantity collected in the wild country towards the north, and has derived also no small benefit from the excellent iron produced at the forges on the St Maurice. These, however, with some exports of grain and timber, have not been sufficient to elevate it above the rank of a large village, which, in 1825, contained 2453 inhabitants, and was supposed, in 1831, to have increased to about 4000. It has a good wharfage, admitting ships of large burden close to it, though the ground in the immediate vicinity is poor and sandy. The principal edifice is the Ursuline convent, founded in 1677, and containing a superior and twenty-four nuns. It was burned down in 1806, but has since been rebuilt.

The rural districts of Trois Rivières, so far as they lie northward of the St Lawrence, form a continuation of the same kind of territory, already described as stretching from Quebec, and in general flatter, and capable of more uniform cultivation. To the westward, especially in ascending the river, it presents a succession of flourishing settlements, and gay villages, occurring every eight or nine miles. These extend particularly along the Lake of St Peter,—a wide expansion of the St Lawrence, about twenty-five miles long and from five to ten broad, but its depth in many places does not exceed twelve feet. Hence the intricate channel, through which alone large vessels can be navigated, must be marked by poles or other beacons. The shores are extremely flat; but numerous verdant islands enliven the western extremity, which

also mark the boundary of the province. Near the eastern frontier, the Batiscan, with a village of the same name at its mouth, falls into the great river.*

The district of Montreal, if not the most extensive in Lower Canada, is at least that which contains the greatest proportion of valuable land. Commencing at the western boundary of Trois Rivières, it extends along the St Lawrence, but in that direction terminates where Upper Canada begins, not far above the capital. It shoots, however, a long branch up the Ottawa, embracing all the northern bank of that river, till it is bounded, along with the lower province, by Lake Temiscaming. This district, on the north of the St Lawrence, comprehends the counties of Montreal, Berthier, Lachenaye, L'Assomption, Terrebonne, Two Mountains, Vaudreuil, and Ottawa, containing a population of 147,649. Another portion, nearly equally valuable, lies on the south side, and will be afterwards described.

Montreal, the chief town in this district, though not ranking as a capital, is equal to Quebec in magnitude, and superior in commercial importance. Its greatness is likely to increase from its favourable situation, and the growing prosperity of Upper Canada, of which, as being the highest point of the St Lawrence to which vessels of the first class can ascend, it must always continue the emporium.

The site of this town does not present those bold and grand features which distinguish the Canadian metropolis, though its beauty can scarcely be surpassed. The river, in this finest part of its course, divides itself into two channels, enclosing an island thirty-two miles long and ten and a half broad, which forms one of the most favoured spots on earth. The soil, every where luxuriant, is cultivated like one great garden, to supply the

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 209. Evans, Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada (Supplement, 1836), p. 62. Reports of Canada Commissioners (February 1837), Appendix to General, p. 3.

inhabitants with vegetables and fruits. These last are of the finest quality, and the apples especially are said to display that superiority which so remarkably distinguishes them in the New World. Although the island possesses in general that level surface which fits it for a thorough cultivation, yet about a mile and a half north-east rises a hill 550 feet high, commanding a noble view over the fertile country, which is watered by the several branches and tributaries of the St Lawrence. Its face is covered with agreeable villas, and its wooded heights form a frequent resort to pleasure parties from the city; but the intention now understood to be entertained of erecting fortifications on its summit, will, if put into execution, banish in a great measure its rural character.

The city, built on the southern border of this fine island, is not crowded like Quebec into a limited space, which can alone be covered with streets and habitations. It has a wide level surface to extend over; so that even the older streets are of tolerable breadth, and several of them occupy its entire length. The principal one, Rue Notre Dame, considerably exceeds half a mile in extent, and contains many of the chief public buildings. There is an upper and a lower town, though the difference of elevation is very slight; but the former is much the more handsome of the two. The seven suburbs are not, as in the older capital, detached and extraneous, but on the same level, and immediately adjacent. Their streets, continued in the direction of those in the body of the place, are regular, and display many handsome houses. The vicinity is adorned with beautiful villas.

Of the public edifices, the new Catholic cathedral, completed in 1829, is undoubtedly the most splendid, and is, in fact, superior to any other in British America. Its style is a species of Gothic; it is 255 feet 6 inches in length, and 134 feet 6 inches in breadth. The flanks rise sixty-one feet above the terrace; and there are six towers, of which the three belonging to the main front

are 220 feet high. It is faced with excellent stone, and roofed with tin. The principal window is sixty-four feet in height, and thirty-two broad. On the roof has been formed a promenade seventy-six feet by twenty, elevated 120 feet, and commanding a most delightful view. The interior contains 1244 pews, equal to the accommodation of at least 10,000 persons. There are five public and three private entrances to the first floor, and four to the galleries, so disposed that this vast congregation can easily assemble and disperse in a few minutes. The building comprises seven chapels, all visible from the front entrance, and nine spacious aisles. The high altar bears a resemblance to that of St Peter's at Rome, the pulpit to that of the cathedral at Strasburg. The large window is painted, but not in a good style; it is intended that it shall be filled hereafter with stained glass. The other Catholic edifices belong mostly to the order of St Sulpice, by whose members, as formerly mentioned, Montreal was chiefly founded, and who hold the superiority of the whole island upon which it stands. Their seminary, which is a large and commodious building adjoining the cathedral, occupies three sides of a square 132 feet long by 90 deep, and is surrounded by spacious gardens. To extend its benefits, the Order have lately, at an expense of £10,000, erected a handsome additional building, 210 feet by 45. In these establishments, the numerous students, attending all the branches of learning and philosophy, are taught at very moderate charges. There are two large nunneries;—the principal one, called the Congregation of Notre Dame, contains a superior and sixty sisters, who receive boarders at a low rate, and send teachers to different parts of the district. The *Sœurs gris* (Grey Sisters) consist of a superior and twenty-four nuns, who admit into their spacious apartments the infirm poor, and are said to treat them with great humanity. The Hotel Dieu is a large conventual structure, occupied by a superior and thirty-six nuns, and is also appropriated to the reception of the sick and indigent. Its utility is limited by the smallness of its

funds, notwithstanding occasional grants from the legislature. The monastery of the Recollets, which occupied extensive grounds at the end of Notre Dame Street, is now demolished, though its church is still used for public worship.

The English establishments, both for religion and education, are also very respectable. The Episcopal church in the street just named, is a very handsome specimen of modern architecture, and is surmounted by a lofty spire. The Scotch church is plain, but attended by a highly respectable congregation. In 1814, a most important donation was made by a wealthy individual,—the Hon. James M'Gill,—to found a college for the principal branches of education. The endowments consist of a valuable estate at the Mountain, with £10,000 in money. It has not, however, yet come into operation, in consequence of a lawsuit, which did not terminate till 1835, when the available funds in the hands of the institution amounted to £22,000. It is to be conducted on the most liberal system,—individuals of every religious persuasion being admitted as students, and even as teachers. There is a Natural History Society and a Mechanics' Institution, whose labours have been meritorious. The private establishments for education are also respectable. The limited means of the Hotel Dieu are amply compensated by the more ample income of the Montreal General Hospital, which was built in 1821-2 by voluntary subscription, at an expense of nearly £6000. It is said to be one of the best regulated institutions of the kind in America.*

The harbour of Montreal does not seem to have received all the attention which its importance merits. It is somewhat confined, and has no wharfage, though, close to the bank in front of the town, is a depth of fifteen feet, sufficient for the largest vessels which ascend to this point. Its chief disadvantage consists in

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 212-232. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 507-511. Evans, pp. 63, 23. Reports of Commissioners, I. Appendix, p. 36.

two shoals, and in the rapid of St Mary's, about a mile below, which vessels often find it difficult to stem. Important improvements are now contemplated, and a grant for the purpose has even been voted by the legislature. The communication with the opposite sides of the river is carried on by means of ten ferries, on several of which ply a number of steam-vessels. A wooden bridge was once constructed from Repentigny on the northern shore, but in the spring after its completion it was carried down by the masses of ice. It is still thought that one of larger span might be constructed, free from that danger.

In considering the rural districts of Montreal, so far as they extend northward of the St Lawrence, we shall begin with the tract reaching down to the province of Trois Rivières. It presents an aspect similar to that of the whole coast from Quebec, but still more level, and also more fertile and populous. It forms one uninterrupted succession of flourishing settlements, with villages, on a larger scale than in the lower districts. Berthier, with 850 inhabitants, on a branch of the St Lawrence called the North Channel, is a great thoroughfare, being midway between Trois Rivières and Montreal, and supplying a variety of goods to the neighbouring seigniories. St Eustache, on the channel called Jesus or St Jean, which seems to be a joint branch of the St Lawrence and Ottawa, commands the route to the territories on the latter river, and, before the recent insurrection, had a considerable traffic, and a population of fully a thousand. The Isle Jesus, separated from the mainland by this channel, extends parallel to that of Montreal for the space of twenty-one miles, and is six at its greatest breadth. It is throughout level, fertile, and highly cultivated; the original forest being almost entirely extirpated, except for ornament and fuel. In this quarter, on the small lake of the Two Mountains, are a couple of villages belonging to the Algonquins and Iroquois, containing together about two hundred houses.*

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 209-211, 232, 233.

The portion of Montreal district on the St Lawrence extends to Pointe au Baudet, fifty-five miles above the capital, where it meets the boundary of Upper Canada. This tract, between the St Lawrence and the Ottawa, forms the county of Vaudreuil; it is level, diversified only by a few gentle hills, and is also very fruitful. Vaudreuil and Rigaud are only villages; the chief importance being attached to the places which lie on the river. La Chine is about eight miles above Montreal, where the navigation is interrupted by the fall of St Louis, to obviate which, the fine canal bearing its name has been erected, at an expense of £137,000. This village, which originally received its appellation from the chimerical idea that it would afford a route to China, still forms an important point in the navigation both of the St Lawrence and the Ottawa, near whose junction it is situated. About twelve miles farther up, at the village of Pointe des Cascades, commences a series of formidable cataracts, which, with little interruption, extend about nine miles. There is nowhere any high fall; but the stream, filled with hidden rocks and covered with breakers, dashes like the waves of a tempestuous ocean. Yet the rafts, the Durham boats, and batteaux constructed for the purpose, can, under skilful guidance, be safely piloted through these dangerous rapids. The crews, however, are often obliged to unload the most bulky part of their cargo, and have it conveyed by land. Steam navigation, which ceases at one end of this obstruction, is resumed at the other; and the village of the Cedars, situated opposite to the rapids of the same name, is the chief depôt for the land-passage. It commands a magnificent view of the foaming billows, and of the barks which steer through them their perilous course.*

The Ottawa province, extending about 350 miles along the northern bank of that great river, forms as it were a very extensive wing, detached from the district and from Lower Canada, while the upper province extends

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

opposite to it along the southern bank. Thus the boundary between these two territories, which at first runs due north, as soon as it strikes the Ottawa, stretches first north-west, and then almost due west. This extensive tract is as yet by no means occupied or improved in proportion to its natural capabilities. The numerous obstacles to the navigation, though now in part removed, have doubtless greatly retarded its settlement.

The upper part of the river beyond the falls and Portage des Allumettes, is used by the fur-traders, who have a post also on Lake Temiscaming, more than 350 miles above the junction of the Ottawa with the St Lawrence; but this tract has never been surveyed, nor even accurately described. Up to the portage, it is regularly frequented by the lumberers, who find valuable supplies of pine and oak, which they contrive to float down in rafts through all obstructions. At the Allumettes the stream separates into two channels, enclosing an island fifteen miles long, and forming three small lakes called the Allumettes, the Mud, and the Musk Rat. On the latter is one solitary farm, said to be in a prosperous condition. Eight miles below the junction of these channels is Fort Coulange, where the Hudson's Bay Company have a post, near which is one well-cultivated settlement. Four or five miles down, another division of the stream forms an island about twenty miles long; but the two channels are much impeded by falls and rapids. The northern, which is the more practicable, has four portages within a few miles of the point of junction; and there is another five miles below it. The falls are not above eight or ten feet high; but they are much broken by masses of rock, and have a very wild appearance.

For ten miles downwards, the stream is beautifully diversified by wooded islands, through which it rushes with various degrees of violence. The banks, great part of the way, consist of white marble, somewhat soft and coarse; but farther inland, it is believed, a superior description would be found. At the end of this tract, Bisset's *chantier*, a solitary log-house, with a few cleared

acres, relieves the eye after the monotony of these vast solitudes; it affords also a welcome asylum to the fur and timber traders. Soon after, the view opens upon the magnificent expanse of the Lake des Chats, about fifteen miles long, studded with richly wooded islets. On the south are one or two scattered mansions, and particularly Kinnell Lodge, the residence of the Highland chieftain M'Nab. The northern side appears uninhabited; yet at a little distance from the beach is the settlement of Clarendon, formed in 1829, and in 1831 containing 257 inhabitants. The township of Bristol, in 1828, presented only a few poor hovels, and thirty-one settlers, which number had, in 1831, increased to ninety-six, and in 1836 to not less than 445. At length the lake suddenly contracts, and the rapids of the Chats for three miles dash in violent eddies, amid a labyrinth of islands. They terminate in the Falls des Chats, fifteen or sixteen in number, extending in a curved line across the river, and divided by wooded islands; but only from sixteen to twenty feet high. The northern coast, having a rocky and uneven surface, forms the township of Onslow, which in 1836 had 150 settlers.

About six miles below this point commences Lake Chaudière, an expanse eighteen miles long, and, like the former, terminating in rapids, succeeded by falls. These last, called the Great and Little Chaudière (Kettle), are on a larger scale, 60 feet high, and 212 broad. The descending torrent, striking on a great circular rock, is thrown up in clouds of spray, which conceal the bottom of the fall, and often rise in revolving columns high above its summit. A great portion of the water being unaccounted for, is believed to escape by subterraneous channels. Immediately below, where the stream still rolls in rapid eddies, a bridge has been thrown across. The difficulties of the undertaking were overcome by dividing the structure into four parts consisting of different materials. The broadest span is stretched by means of a hempen fabric, composed of three-inch cables, forming an inverted segment of a circle, the lowest point of which is only seven

feet above the torrent. But at no time can it be passed without a feeling of peril.

The township of Onslow is followed by that of Eardley, extending along Lake Chaudière, and having much excellent land, which is very imperfectly occupied by 200 persons. Below is Hull, the most flourishing of all the upper settlements on the Ottawa. Its front towards the river is level, or gently undulating, but it rises behind into hills, some 900 feet high, yet finely wooded, or affording good pasturage. It is watered by the large river Gatineau, and contains valuable mines of iron and quarries of marble. This township was surveyed by Philemon Wright, an American loyalist, who in 1806 obtained a grant of 12,000 acres of it for himself and his associates. Having, by his pecuniary advances, secured the exclusive property of the greater portion, as well as of large tracts in neighbouring townships, he has become a most extensive landowner. By great exertions he has rendered it extremely flourishing, and has led the way in all the measures now taking for the improvement of this fine district. The town of Wright, situated immediately opposite to the great Rideau Canal, must rapidly grow in importance. Its population is already considerable, and it contains a neat church and comfortable hotel. The Chaudière Falls, and the bridge, immediately adjoin it.

From this point to Grenville, sixty miles distant, the Ottawa affords an uninterrupted navigation for steam vessels. The township of Hull is succeeded by those of Templeton, Buckingham, and Lochaber. Large tracts were here granted to different proprietors, who unfortunately have not taken due pains to increase their value; and the space for new settlers has been further narrowed by the crown and clergy reserves. Steps, however, are taking to induce the owners either to improve or renounce their possessions, and to arrange the reserves on such a principle, that they may not interrupt the continuity of settlement. The population of all three, which in 1828 little exceeded 300, has since been greatly aug-

mented. Buckingham, in 1831, contained 570; Lochaber, 236; Templeton, in 1836, supposed 390. La Petite Nation, a seigniory early formed, but as yet only partially settled, acquired a considerable accession of Irish emigrants, through the exertions of Mr Papineau, the seignior, who erected extensive saw-mills on its eastern border. It has now 826 settlers.

The township of Grenville, which next follows, may be considered as commencing the densely-peopled portion of Lower Canada. This is not owing to its fertility, which is much impeded by the interruption of hilly ground, connected with the lofty range which traverses the interior. A branch from these gives rise to the rugged cataract named the Long Sault, which can be passed only by the most skilful *voyageurs;* and obstructions continue to occur as far as Point Fortune, where the river, opening into the Lake of the Two Mountains, becomes united with the St Lawrence. To remedy this evil, a fine canal, called the Grenville, which will be more fully described afterwards, has been formed. Numerous individuals employed on this work have settled and taken farms in the township, which by these means had acquired, in 1836, a population estimated at 1450. Below is Chatham, which, through exertions commenced in 1806 by Colonel Robertson, Dr Fraser, and others, has become one of the most flourishing settlements. Though traversed by some naked hills, it has extensive level tracts; and the public road is every where bordered by thriving farms and handsome dwelling-houses built of brick. The population in 1831 was 2604. Chatham Gore, a rising township, has already 473, all Irish Protestants. Here the Ottawa country terminates, Chatham being bounded by Argenteuil, the first of that range of old French settlements which extend along the river as far as Quebec.*

It now only remains to describe the part of Canada

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 187-200. Picken on the Canadas (London, 1832), p. 96-105. Commissioners' Reports, Appendix to General, pp. 9, 10.

southward of the St Lawrence. Though politically connected with the northern portion, it is so completely separated by the broad expanse of the river, and bears so distinct a character, that we follow M. Bouchette's example in treating it separately. Though less extensive, and containing no large towns, it is in many districts equally fertile and well cultivated, and the cities are dependent on it for a large proportion of their supplies.

The most valuable part of this tract is that attached to the district of Montreal, consisting of the counties of La Prairie, Beauharnois, L'Acadie, Richelieu, Shefford, Stanstead, Rouville, Missisqui, Chambly, Verchères, and St Hyacinthe, containing, in 1831, a population of 146,392. It consists chiefly of a very extended plain, almost completely flat, except that some detached hills, shooting up to a considerable height, diversify the surface. Of these, Mounts Rouville, Chambly, Johnson, and Boucherville, are the most remarkable. The Richelieu, the chief river, called also Sorel or Chambly, flows out of Lake Champlain, and is navigable more than half way up for steam-vessels not drawing more than four feet water. It cannot be compared with the St Lawrence in grandeur; but in picturesque beauty few tracts can surpass this lovely plain, covered with fruitful fields, luxuriant meadows, smiling villages, and variegated by towering peaks. The summit of Rouville, 1100 feet high, affords one of the finest views in the province. The soil throughout is generally of such exuberant fertility, that it bears the appellation of the granary of Lower Canada.

The population of this territory, though considerable, is chiefly dispersed in small villages and farms. The only places of any consequence are those whose situation is fitted for trade. Such is Sorel, called now William-Henry, from his late majesty, placed at the junction of the Richelieu with the St Lawrence. It has only wooden houses, but they are regularly built, and two churches, with about 1500 inhabitants. La Prairie, on the bank of the river opposite to Montreal, is a place

of superior importance, being the channel by which that city communicates with the United States. It is also handsomer, having houses of two stories, and roofed with tin. Chambly, St John, and Blairfindie, being placed on this line of road, have risen to consequence; and St Charles and St Denis, on the Richelieu, are villages of some magnitude.

The portion of this southern district which belongs to Trois Rivières contains the counties of Sherbrooke, Yamaska, Nicolet, and Drummond, and comprised, in 1831, a population of 32,670. Proceeding eastward, it becomes more elevated; yet the portion which has been cleared amply rewards the toil of the cultivator. It is watered by fine rivers. The St Francis, from a lake of the same name, flows due north, and, after traversing many fruitful districts, falls into Lake St Peter. Though broken by cataracts and rapids, it is navigated by canoes with occasional portages. The Nicolet is passable some distance up for batteaux, then only partially for small boats. Falling into the St Lawrence, a short distance above Trois Rivières, it supplies the means of a great intercourse with that place. The Beçancour is a longer and very fine river, but its channel is exposed to similar interruptions. It has falls, said to be nearly equal in beauty to those most admired in Lower Canada. Though this district is almost entirely rural, there are villages near the mouths of the rivers; none, however, of much consequence. At Nicolet is a college, lately rebuilt on an enlarged scale.* St Hyacinthe, on the Yamaska, is a considerable hamlet.

The whole tract along the St Lawrence and the Richelieu, extending inward from the bank eight or ten miles, has, as already noticed, been granted in seigniories, formed into concessions, and cultivated to a considerable extent, though many tracts in the rear still remain covered by the original forests. But a large territory

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 299-306, 350. Commissioners' Reports, Appendix to General, pp. 1, 2.

in the interior, reaching to the American frontier, and situated along the smaller rivers, had totally escaped the attention of these original colonists; though, notwithstanding occasional swamps, it forms perhaps the finest portion of Lower Canada. Instead of the flat plain which borders the great rivers, it presents an undulating surface, finely wooded and diversified by numerous streamlets, which render it particularly well adapted to pasturage. That branch of industry is here carried on more successfully than in any other part of the province; and its breeds of cattle redeem in some measure the reproach of inferiority, which rests generally on the country. There is also abundance of ground fitted for wheat; but being sown in spring, it is not equal to that of Upper Canada. Oats and Indian corn are good; and the potatoes are at once excellent and very plentiful. Cattle, however, not grain, has hitherto formed the staple produce, and almost the only material of exportation. The rivers, obstructed by falls and rapids, afford excellent situations for mills, but are of no use in the carriage of goods; and the roads, by which produce must be conveyed to the somewhat distant markets of Montreal and Quebec, have hitherto been extremely bad, though great exertions are now making for their improvement. The climate is somewhat milder than in the vicinity of Montreal, while it has the advantage of being healthy, and altogether free from the ague which afflicts various parts of the upper province. This salubrity was farther proved by its happy exemption from the cholera, which committed such ravages on the banks of the St Lawrence.

As soon as the British government obtained possession of Canada, they turned their attention to this valuable district, and gradually laid it out in ranges of townships, which amount now to ninety-eight, with ten more projected. In this quarter were located some military colonies, of which that formed at Drummondville by Colonel Herriot at the end of the last war was the most considerable. Some private adventurers, from time to time,

followed the example; but the greater number of settlers were from the United States who passed into Stanstead, and other districts on the southern frontier. These they rendered very flourishing, and introduced a better system of management than generally prevails in Canada. Finally, when the great tide of immigration began to flow into that country, the southern townships, though for some time almost unnoticed, became an object of inquiry; and they were found to possess advantages which might fairly enable them to come into competition with the upper province. Since 1833 settlers have resorted thither in considerable numbers; and the British American Land Company have purchased from government a block of 596,000 acres, called the St Francis Territory, which, with other acquisitions, raise their property to 1,219,000 acres. For this they paid £192,847 sterling, of which £60,000 is returned to them to be spent in improvements upon the country. They have erected a harbour at Port St Francis on Lake St Peter, above the place where shallows begin and obstruct the passage. They are also engaged in improving the road thence to Sherbrooke, and from that town to their more distant territory, and have their lands now open for the occupation of settlers.*

In the district of Montreal, county of Acadie, we find Sherrington, with a great proportion of good land, and a population of 3125. In Beauharnois county is Godmanchester with 1413, Hemmingford with 980, and Hinchinbrooke with 1214. These extend along the southern border, westward from the Richelieu, and are watered by its tributaries, as also by those of the St Lawrence. A large part consists of high land with thin soil, but covered with excellent timber, a great portion of which has been lately cut down. There are fine meadows

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 307-311. Gould's Practical Advice to Emigrants (London, 1834), p. 67-72. Buchan's Remarks on Emigration (1836), p. 24-30. MS. Communications from the British American Land Company.

along the rivers, with much good arable land; and the townships generally have been greatly improved under a judicious plan of government location. Dunham, Standbridge, and Sutton, in the county of Missisqui, lie also on the southern border; but to the eastward of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain there is a considerable variety of soil, most of which is well fitted for grain, flax, and hemp. The first contains 2121 settlers, the second 1800, the third 825.

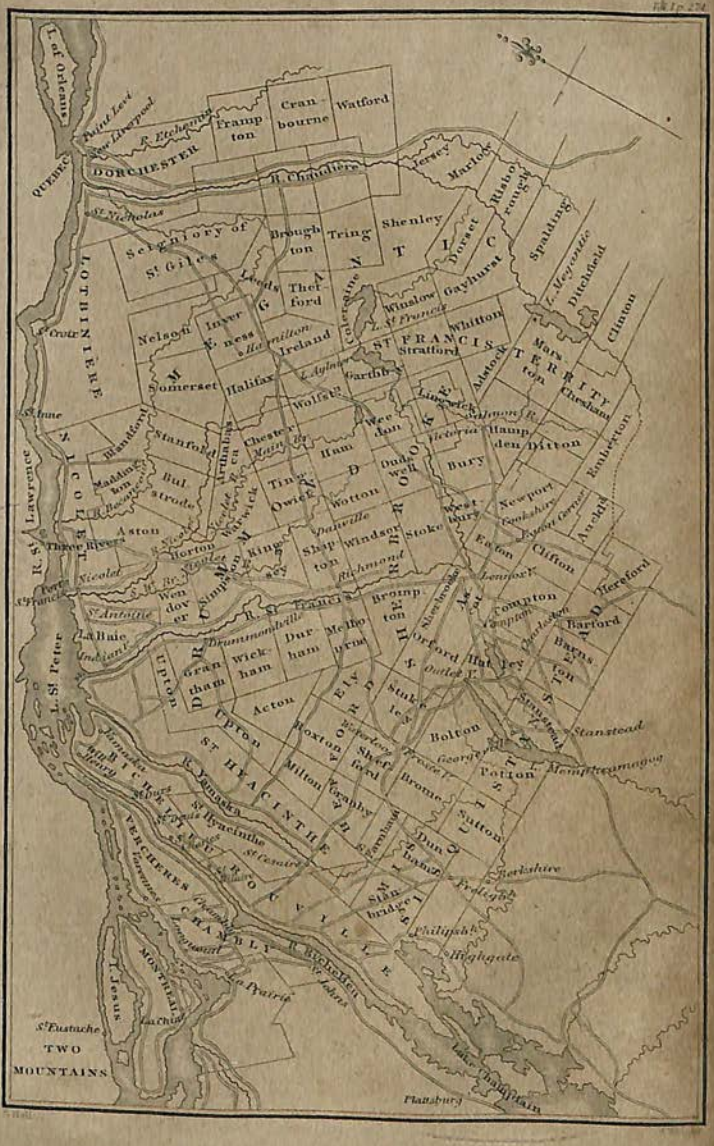
The counties of Shefford and Stanstead, composing the south-eastern part of Montreal district, have been entirely laid out in townships, and possess very important settlements. Shefford, watered by the lower branches of the Yamaska, is partly mountainous and rocky, partly swampy; but there is a fair proportion of good and even fine soil. The township itself, though in some parts rather steril, has in general exceedingly rich land, with 1470 settlers, and contains a village named Froste with 120 souls. Brome, rather rugged, is so well settled as to have 1548; Farnham good, though partly swampy, 1642; Stukeley, rather broken, only 485; Granby, generally good, 991; Milton, 190; Ely, 131; Roxton, 50. These three last are somewhat wet and marshy.

Stanstead forms the south-easterly angle of Montreal district, and is one of its most valuable portions. It is well diversified with hill and dale, and has in its centre the pleasing lake called Memphramagog. On its eastern side are the townships of Stanstead, Barnston, and Hatley. The two first are extremely fine and well settled, having respectively a population of 4226 and 2221. It contains the villages of Stanstead and Georgeville,—the first of which is the largest as well as the neatest and best built place in all the townships. According to the report of the British American Land Company, there are upwards of two hundred houses, three churches, and two printing offices, at one of which a weekly newspaper is published. The high road from Quebec passes through it. Hatley is much more chequered, pos-

sessing some very fine land, with a few hilly and poor districts. The village of Charlestown has fifty houses and two churches. Bolton and Polton, on the west side of the lake, though somewhat rugged and uneven, are well watered and have several tracts of good land. Population of Hatley, 1600, Bolton, 1170, Polton, 1005. To the eastward of Stanstead are Barnston and Barford, both favourably described; so that, notwithstanding their remoteness from water, the first has 2221 settlers, though the second, as yet, has only 84.

We now proceed to the county of Sherbrooke, embracing the greater part of the district of St Francis, immediately south of Trois Rivières, to which it is often considered as attached. Being quite beyond the range of the seigniories, it has been divided into 29 townships, which include much valuable land. It presents in general a broken and varied surface, sometimes rising into mountains clothed with fine timber, is well watered, yet not so encumbered with swamps as the more western districts. The only part hitherto settled is that adjoining to Stanstead in Montreal; but the British American Land Company expect soon to diffuse culture over the whole. Orford, indeed, the first on this side, is so mountainous as to be almost unfit for improvement, and contains only 320 inhabitants. But the next, Ascot, with 1800, Compton, to the south, with 2020, and Eaton, to the east, with 1500, are in general very fine, with an undulating surface, and commodiously watered by streams well adapted for mills. The first contains Sherbrooke, the county town, where the commerce of the neighbouring settlements chiefly centres. It contains about 350 inhabitants, with three places of worship and a woollen manufactory; and the Land Company have lately made it the centre of their operations. They have undertaken a new road to Port St Francis, whereby the distance will be reduced to seventy miles, and have likewise established a stage conveyance between the two places, by which the journey is performed in one day. They have also improved the roads to Quebec

EASTERN TOWNSHIPS.



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and Montreal, from each of which it is about 100 miles distant. In Eaton and Compton are rising. villages bearing the same names. South from Eaton, Clifton and Newport, though hilly, contain much good land; yet in 1831 their united population was only 188.

The north-western part of the county includes Melbourne, with 1280 settlers, and Shipton, on the Nicolet, with 1900. These two are considered the finest of all the St Francis townships, and their population is rapidly increasing. Shipton contains Richmond, a village of some consequence, and another is rapidly rising in Melbourne. Windsor and Stoke are represented as possessing almost equal advantages; yet they have drawn little attention, the former counting only 220 settlers, the latter scarcely any. Brompton, west from these, though uneven and rocky, has some good tracts, which have drawn 350 inhabitants; while Dudswell, east of Windsor, which has also a variegated surface, can boast of three hundred and forty-two.

The whole south-eastern part of this large county, containing the townships of Garthby, Strafford, Whitton, Adstock, Marston, Chesham, Emberton, Hampden, and Bury, with certain portions of Weedon, Lingwick, Ditton, Auckland, and Hereford, composes the great block purchased by the Land Company. It had not been previously surveyed, and was occupied only by detached individuals, who had availed themselves of its neglected situation to squat upon it. Its surface is very varied. The central part, according to a recent report, appears too mountainous to invite settlement; but from this height it slopes down in various directions to the St Francis, to its tributary the Salmon, and to Lake Megantic. These lower declivities are richly wooded and well fitted for a mixed system of corn and pasture farming. The Salmon river, which traverses in a northerly direction nearly the whole district, has beautiful and fertile banks, one part of which, about ten miles long, from its luxuriant verdure is called "the Meadows." This river, as well as numerous little streams which flow

into it, is rapid and broken by falls, unfit for navigation, but very convenient for mills. Here the Company have determined to begin their settlement; and about half a mile from the principal fall they have founded a village named Victoria. During the summer of 1836 several hundred labourers were employed by them in forming a road between it and Sherbrooke.

In the district of Three Rivers, the county of Drummond has been laid out into nineteen townships. These have the advantage of being nearer to a shipping port on the St Lawrence; yet, in point of soil, they do not seem equal to those farther south, a great portion of it being rendered unproductive by swamps. They have accordingly obtained a much smaller number of settlers, and those chiefly on the lower course of the St Francis. On the western bank are Durham, with 1000, Wickham, 450, and Grantham, with 850. The first and last are described as generally good, containing tracts of fine natural grass; but the other is only partially fertile, owing to the encroachment of marshes. In Grantham is the village of Drummondville, which ranks as the capital of this new county. Adjoining this township are Acton and Upton, small and rather wet, yet the latter has obtained 400 settlers. On the eastern bank are Kingsey, Simpson, and Wendover, which have generally good land in the front, with morasses in the rear. Kingsey has above 1100 settlers, but Simpson only 60, and Wendover 80. The more eastern townships, though situated on the fine streams of the Beçancour and Nicolet, and not without natural advantages, are scarcely at all occupied. On the latter river are Arthabasca, of mixed quality; Chester, good, with twelve settlers; Horton, small, and only one settler; Warwick, poor and steril; Wolfstown, a mixture of bad and moderately good land, with twelve colonists. On the Beçancour are Aston, a picturesque tract, with generally good land, though yet only a few settlers; Bulstrode, south-east of this river, low, but not without good land, has 230 settlers; and Stanfold, which is very swampy. Be-

sides these are Tingwick, between Chester and Kingsey, and Wotton, west of Wolfstown, mostly belonging to the Land Company. Ham, east of Tingwick, has a proportion of land fit for cultivation.

Besides these counties entirely laid out in townships, that of Nicolet in the rear of its seigniories, contains those of Blandford and Maddington, with a soil generally good, well watered, but as yet scarcely at all occupied.*

The tracts on this side of the river belonging to the district of Quebec embrace a great extent of coast; but the settlements do not extend far into the interior. The possession of a portion, too, amounting to 6,400,000 acres, is still under discussion with the United States. This division consists of the counties of Beauce, Bellechasse, Dorchester, Kamouraska, L'Islet, Lotbinière, Megantic, and Rimouski, which contain a population of 87,700. The aspect of the territory, as compared with the western, is decidedly bold and hilly, though not mountainous, as on the opposite shore. The land generally stretches in irregular ridges, which, at from ten to twenty miles inland, swell into a broad table land, that slopes down to the river St John. Between these ridges, however, intervene valleys, and even extensive plains, many of which, from the encouragement afforded by the markets of the capital, have been brought into very tolerable cultivation. The territory is watered by numerous rivers, full and rapid, though, from being closely hemmed in by high land on the south, they have not so long a course as those farther west. The principal are the Chaudière, Du Sud, St Anne, Ouelle, Green River, Rimouski, Great Mitis, and Matane. In ascending the St Lawrence, the views along the valleys marked out by these streams and the heights by which they are bounded, are singularly grand and picturesque.

The tract watered by the Chaudière, the largest of these rivers, and comprising the county of Beauce, is

* Bouchette, as above. Picken, pp. 63-68, 82-94. Commissioners' Reports, Appendix to General, p. 10-13. British American Land Company Reports and Private Communications.

hilly and broken, the soil light, and in some places stony, yet on the whole fertile; and the vicinity of the capital has led to its careful cultivation. It derives very great advantages also from the Kennebeck road leading from Quebec to Boston, and completed in 1830, by which its agricultural produce is conveyed to a good market, and large supplies of live stock transported. The fall on the Chaudière forms one of the most picturesque objects in America. If it does not equal the grandeur of Niagara and Montmorenci, it possesses features more interesting than either. The river is here narrowed to the breadth of between 300 and 400 feet, and the height does not exceed 130. It descends, too, not in one continuous sheet, but is broken by projecting rocks into three channels, which however unite before reaching the basin below. Nothing, therefore, is on the same great scale as in its two rivals; yet it surpasses both in the magnificent forests by which it is overhung, whose dark foliage, varied and contrasted by the white foam of the cataracts, produces the most striking effects. These are heightened by the deep and hollow sound of the waters, and the clouds of spray, which, when illumined by the sun, exhibit the most brilliant variety of prismatic colours. A succession of rapids for some space upwards displays a continuation of the same bold and beautiful scenery.

Although the whole front of this territory towards the St Lawrence is laid out in seigniories, yet some tracts in the remoter parts of Beauce and Bellechasse, with the whole of Megantic, have been divided into townships, for the reception of British settlers. The surface, though in general high, becoming even mountainous when it reaches the upland country which separates the basin of the St Lawrence from that of the St John, contains, nevertheless, many valuable districts. On the western side of the Chaudière, in Megantic, are Inverness, with 950 settlers; Ireland, 500; Leeds, 740; Broughton, 75. These are described as possessing much good and some very superior land, interrupted, however,

by a considerable extent of hill and swamp. The other townships on this side, scarcely at all settled, are Somerset and Nelson, low land, but tolerably good; Halifax, good, with 150 settlers; Thetford, Tring with thirty-eight, Winslow, mixture of good and bad; Dorset, extensive and rocky, but with fine rises of rich soil, particularly fitted for hemp and flax; and Gayhurst, of which little is yet known. Eastward of the Chaudière, in Beauce, is Frampton, the most flourishing of all. Its surface is varied; and the uplands are best fitted for culture, the valleys being somewhat wet; yet these last yield excellent pasture, and the butter produced from them enjoys a high reputation at Quebec. It has sixty houses and 263 inhabitants. The adjoining ones of Cranbourne and Buckland, though inferior, possess considerable advantages, but hitherto have attracted few settlers. Ware and Watford still remain unsurveyed. Risborough, Spalding, Marlow, Ditchfield, and Clinton, are far south, and little known.*

For a considerable space below the Chaudière, the shores of the St Lawrence continue fine and well cultivated. The river Du Sud, in particular, about thirty-five miles from Quebec, traverses a plain so level and fruitful, as almost to dispute with the Richelieu the fame of being the granary of Lower Canada. The scenery also is soft and beautiful in the extreme, especially at the village of St Thomas, near its mouth. The soil too continues good, though on the river St Anne it is singularly broken by insulated granite cliffs, rearing their steep sides to a considerable height. These, however, overlook a fine country, and render it more picturesque. The village of St Anne, agreeably stationed on an eminence, has recently had a college founded, the building for which is handsome, and placed in a healthy situation; affording a great accommodation to this populous part of Lower Canada. Lower down, at River Ouelle,

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 299-314. Picken, p. 53-60. Commissioners' Report, Appendix to General, p. 13.

there is a considerable porpoise fishery. In the rear of this district is the township of Ixworth; which, so far as it has been surveyed, is found to contain excellent land. About ninety miles below Quebec, Kamouraska, the most frequented watering-place in Canada, has risen to great importance. Visiters are attracted by the salubrity of the air and the fine scenery,—much heightened by islands in front, which are also the seat of a considerable herring-fishery.

Below Kamouraska, the country is diversified by more abrupt eminences, while population and culture become more limited. After the village of St Andrew, occurs the portage of Temiscouata, leading to the lake of that name on the main road to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. On the Rivière du Loup is an extensive saw-mill; but there, and in the succeeding districts of Cacona, Isle Verte, and Trois Pistolles, colonization scarcely extends beyond the range in front of the river. The Rimouski district is still more gloomy, covered with dark hills, enclosing a narrow valley. At Bic, especially, the mountains become bold and precipitous; yet the eye is still occasionally cheered by smiling settlements. Four leagues lower, at Anse au Coq, the road ceases, and the trackless desert is interrupted by single habitations only, on the banks of the rivers Grand Mitis and Little Matane. On the first are large saw-mills, and on the second a fishery for the supply of the Quebec market; but its success is said to be doubtful. At Matane only about 600 acres are cleared, and occupied by 300 families. The uninhabited coast, extending thirty miles from Mitis to this place, is considered by Bouchette as highly propitious for settlement; and it certainly possesses many advantages in point of situation. From Matane to the boundary of the province, there are only a few scattered dwellings.

Behind the stations now described, adjoining Lake Temiscouata, Colonel Fraser, since 1823, has given importance to the settlements of Kent and Strathern. The landscape here is bold and romantic, and the rocks

afford a large supply of excellent limestone. The road by the portage to New Brunswick is very beneficial to his establishment; and more southerly, at the junction of the Madawaska and St John, another has been formed. The whole upper line of the latter river, extending 132 miles in length, might, it is supposed, afford an excellent base for a range of townships, but it constitutes part of the disputed territory, and is still entirely neglected.

The least improved portion of this section of Lower Canada is the district of Gaspé. It forms an extensive peninsula, having on the north the river and on the east the gulf of St Lawrence: on the south, the Bay of Chaleur, penetrating deeply into the land, separates it from New Brunswick. Gaspé, having thus a circuit of about 350 miles of coast, enjoys a favourable position for fishery, which has hitherto been the chief employment of its inhabitants. The principal settlements are on Chaleur Bay, particularly along a space of fifty miles from Port Daniel to Maria. The cold is not much more rigorous than on the St Lawrence, while it is free from those dreary fogs which encumber the neighbouring coasts, but are here merely seen rolling in dense volumes along the entrance of the bay. The fishery is chiefly of cod, carried on by open boats, with the aid of a few larger vessels. It employs about 1800 individuals, of whom 500 come from Quebec during the season. The produce is about 50,000 quintals of dried and 10,000 green fish, and 27,000 gallons of cod oil. The whale fishery employs five or six large schooners and 200 men; it yields from 18,000 to 20,000 gallons of oil. About 4000 barrels of herrings and 2000 of salmon are also cured. Of late, the attention of the colonists has been attracted to agriculture; the soil having been found of a friable clay, thickly coated with vegetable mould, and yielding good crops of grain, flax, and hemp. The whole line of coast has been laid out, and even double ranges begun, though the roads are yet very imperfect. Since 1815, the timber trade has become an important resource. In each of the years 1825 and 1826

sixty vessels were employed, exporting about 750,000 feet of pine. In 1831 the whole population was calculated at 13,312, including the settlements on the river Ristigouche, and others from Cape Daniel to Gaspé Bay on the eastern coast. The northern boundary, stretching thence along the St Lawrence, presents still an aspect of the most dreary desolation. Three small stations have been formed, but are scarcely at all occupied, unless during the fishing season. Yet there seems nothing in the soil or climate to prevent settlement, which would be of great use in affording protection against the shipwrecks which too often occur at this dangerous entrance of the St Lawrence. For this purpose, £5000 has been appropriated by the legislature.*

The following tabular view, as it respects the different districts, will be found to comprise much interesting information. The St Francis territory, we believe, is comprehended under those of Montreal and Trois Rivières.

	Quebec.	Montreal.	Trois Rivieres.	Gaspe.
Area in square miles	125,717	49,769	15,811	7,389
Population in 1831	151,985	290,050	56,570	13,312
Possessors of real property	17,215	31,747	7,653	1,276
Families employed in agriculture	12,467	28,229	9,662	466
Families employed in trade	764	1,240	489	10
Acres of improved land	562,778½	1,231,300½	253,447½	18,687
Acres occupied, but unimproved	1,685,817	2,529,859½	629,902½	136,214
Wheat, produce in minots (1⅛ bushel)	911,887½	2,098,982½	383,544½	10,342
Oats, minots	798,133½	1,911,861	426,760½	5,520
Potatoes, do	1,695,853½	4,221,802½	910,295½	529,465
Horned cattle	104,794	229,747	48,752	5,411
Horses	26,213	76,057	13,739	677
Sheep	152,382	310,523	71,458	8,930
Hogs	74,515	174,447	39,766	6,409
Grist mills	94	235	60	6

The progress of Lower Canada, though not quite equal to that of some modern colonies, has yet been extremely rapid. It was, indeed, long depressed by the weakness of the government and Indian warfare; so that, in 1676, it appears not to have contained above 8415 inhabitants. In 1700, however, the estimate was 15,000, and in 1714 it had risen to 26,904. At the conquest in

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 315-330. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 452-456. Evans, Supplement, p. 63.

1759 the number was believed to be 65,000. In 1784, a census, ordered by General Haldimand, gave 113,000. A similar one, taken in 1825 under the authority of the House of Assembly, showed 423,630; another in 1831 511,917. There can be no doubt that this last, as well as all the preceding enumerations, was extremely defective. *Mr Chapman, after a careful consideration of all circumstances, considers himself rather under the truth, in fixing the real number at 582,000; and he supposes that, by the combined effect of immigration and natural increase, it must have now risen to fully 660,000.

Of the number returned by the census of 1831, it was stated that 57,891 were possessed of real property. The number of families employed in agriculture was 50,824, while 7602 persons acted as farm servants, and not more than 2503 families were engaged in commerce or trade. The lands under cultivation amounted to 2,065,913 acres, while 3,981,713 were occupied, but in an unimproved state. There were, moreover, 4,335,494 acres still in the hands of the government, besides vast tracts yet unsurveyed. The inhabitants were possessed of 389,706 horned cattle, 116,686 horses, 543,343 sheep, and 295,137 hogs. They had 395 grist, and 737 saw mills; 90 for carding, 97 for fulling, and 3 for paper; 70 distilleries; 489 manufactories for pot and pearl ash, and 64 for other articles. In 1836 Mr Evans estimated the cultivated lands as having increased to 2,486,000. An official report states the acres

of surveyed lands belonging to the crown at	999,976
To the clergy, ...	568,099
Total surveyed, ...	1,568,075
Unsurveyed, though formed into townships,	568,099
	2,136,174

Besides those now described, there are vast tracts yet undivided on the Saguenay, on the southern frontier, and in the disputed territory.*

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 347. Tables for Colonies, 1832, pp. 1, 2, 6, 7. Chapman's Statistics of the Population of the British Colonies (Montreal, 1834), p. 6-12.

CHAPTER VI.

Topography of Upper Canada.

Boundaries—Surface and Extent—Progress of Settlement and Cultivation—Climate and Soil—Divisions—Eastern Division—Eastern District—Johnstown—Bathurst; Perth and Bytown—Central Division—Midland District—Town of Kingston—Newcastle District; Coburg and Port Hope; Peterborough—Home District—City of Toronto—Settlements on Lake Simcoe—Western Section—Its early Settlement—Gore District—Canada Company—Guelph—Galt—Niagara District—Town—Queenston—Falls—London District; Colonel Talbot; Town of London—Huron Tract; Goderich—Western District; Amherstburg and Sandwich—General Summary.

UPPER CANADA comprehends an extensive range of territory, considered till lately a mere appendage to the lower province, but now fast rivalling it in wealth and population. Its eastern boundary, as defined by the proclamation of 1791, has been already stated to be a line drawn from the St Lawrence, a little above Montreal, due north to the Ottawa, and then along that river to Lake Temiscaming. Thence it again stretches due north to the mountainous border of the Hudson's Bay territory, which forms the northern limit. On the south it has the winding shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, with the channels connecting them, and generally ranked as portions of the great stream of the St Lawrence. On the other side of this water-boundary is the territory of the United States. The western limit is much more vague, being by the proclamation just mentioned merely stated to be that of "the country commonly called or known by the

name of Canada." M. Bouchette seems to adhere most closely to established ideas, when he fixes it at the head of the streams which fall into Lake Superior, and thus extends it to about 117° west longitude.

This extensive province consists almost throughout of one uniform plain. In all the settled and surveyed portion, at least, there is scarcely an eminence deserving the name even of a hill; though it is traversed by two ridges of considerable extent, which decidedly mark the different levels of the country. The principal one passes through nearly its whole length from south-east to north-west, separating the waters which fall into the St Lawrence and the lakes from those which are tributary to the Ottawa. The highest point is supposed to be the greatest elevation of the Rideau Canal, about forty miles north of Kingston. It is 290 feet above the Ottawa at Bytown, but only 160 higher than the level of Lake Ontario. Towards these opposite limits the surface descends at the rate of only about four feet in the mile, exhibiting to the eye no sensible departure from a complete plain. The high ground, however, after passing the limits of settlement, about eighteen miles northward of Lake Balsam becomes connected with a somewhat loftier range, which continues in nearly the same direction beyond Lakes Huron and Superior, till it joins the mountainous frontier of the Hudson's Bay territory. The other ridge begins near the eastern extremity of Ontario, to which it runs nearly parallel, and proceeds in the same direction to a point about twenty-four miles north-west from Toronto, where it separates the tributaries of that lake from those of Huron. It now turns to the south-east, and, running between Ontario and Erie, crosses the Niagara, forming its stupendous falls, and terminating on the Genessee, in the United States territory. Although no part of it can aspire to the appellation of mountain, it has a more sensible elevation than the former ridge, and even rises into some bold heights.

The whole of this territory is estimated to contain

about 141,000 square miles, or nearly three times the extent of England. The only portion, however, that is yet surveyed, or at all settled, is that bounded by the eastern coast of Lake Huron, and a line drawn thence to the Ottawa. This is estimated by M. Bouchette to contain about 33,000 square miles, or 21,000,000 acres.*

Upper Canada, down to the period when it was conquered by Britain, was in a very wild and unreclaimed condition. With the exception of the small location on the banks of the Detroit, it contained only detached posts at great distances, formed for military defence and the prosecution of the fur-trade. After the peace of 1763, when the possession of it was confirmed to this country; a proclamation was issued, fixing allotments of land to reduced officers and discharged soldiers. These grants, however, appear to have been sought chiefly in the vicinity of the capitals and cultivated districts, and to have scarcely at all extended into the great forest domain.

The real settlement of Upper Canada took place in 1783, at the close of the first American war. At that time not only a large body of troops were disbanded, but many inhabitants of the United States, who had adhered to Britain during this unfortunate contest, sought refuge within her colonies; and as these last were generally in a state of great destitution, the government felt disposed to treat them liberally, and afford the utmost possible compensation for their losses and sufferings. With this view, the whole land along the St Lawrence above the French settlements, and also on Lake Ontario, to and around the Bay of Quinté, for the space of 150 miles, was formed into townships, originally entitled First, Second, Third, but to which regular names were afterwards attached. These settlers were termed the *United Empire Loyalists;* and not only received an ample supply of land, but farming utensils, building materials, and subsistence for two years. A farther engagement was made,

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 64-71.

that every member of their families, on attaining the age of twenty-one, should have a fresh donation of 200 acres; a promise which has been strictly fulfilled. Military grants were at the same time bestowed, at rates varying from 5000 for a field officer, to 200 for a private soldier. These new occupants, many of whom had been accustomed to agricultural labour and even to the improvement of forest land, soon produced a wonderful change, and converted a great extent of wilderness into fruitful fields. On the site of Fort Frontenac was founded Kingston, which gradually rose into a place of importance. At the same time, other emigrants, in consideration of local habits and attachments, were settled upon the Niagara channel, and upon that part of the Detroit not previously occupied.

In 1791 Upper Canada had attained to such importance, that when Mr Pitt determined to bestow a constitution on the colony, he formed this part into a separate government, giving to it the name of Upper, and to the early settled districts that of Lower Canada. The former was not supposed, after all, to contain at that time above 10,000 inhabitants. General Simcoe, however, in 1794, founded the town of York, which was fixed on as the seat of government, and made the most strenuous efforts to encourage colonists to settle in the neighbourhood. They came in considerable numbers, though chiefly from the United States. It was not till 1803 that, through the exertions of Colonel Talbot, emigration from Britain was commenced on any large scale. The result of these measures was, that in 1811 the country was found to contain about 9623 persons paying taxes. By a careful examination in regard to the most populous township, Mr Gourlay estimated the tax-payers at one-eighth of the entire population, which, on this principle, must have amounted to about 77,000. A vast additional impulse, however, was given at the close of the last war, in consequence of the low rate of profit and wages, and the difficulty of finding employment at home. The attention, first of the labouring, then of

the middling class, and finally of the government, was thus forcibly drawn to the relief which might be obtained by removal to a new country, where the means of subsistence were abundant. These motives have attracted a continued succession of emigrants, both individually and in bodies, by whom the population of the province has been most rapidly augmented. In 1824 a series of returns, called for by Parliament, showed the number to be 151,097. In 1828 a similar census produced 185,526. At the end of 1832 the amount had risen to 296,000, and in 1835 to 336,000. It may be observed, too, that these returns are understood to be extremely defective, and the omissions numerous; probably, therefore, the actual population of Upper Canada may not fall materially short of 400,000.

Improvement and wealth appear to have kept full pace with the progress of population. We do not find any statement of the number of acres under cultivation till 1828, when they were reported at 570,000. In 1835 they had increased to 1,308,300. The assessment lists of 1810 gave 9982 horses; in 1832 they had increased to 36,822. The number of horned cattle was in the first period, 24,436; in the second, 166,499; in the third, 192,005. In 1810 the assessment of a penny in the pound, on all fixed property, yielded £4133, implying a value of £992,000, which, in 1828, was reckoned at £1,969,000. In 1835 the assessment amounted to £20,207, and consequently was levied upon a property estimated at £4,849,000. This being Halifax currency, was equal only to £4,364,000 sterling. The rating, however, as usual in such cases, appears to be very low, cultivated land being valued only at £1 per acre, probably a good deal less than half the real worth. A stone or brick house, with six apartments, is rated only at £100. Farm stock is assessed more nearly at its marketable price; but the payment is made exclusively upon lands, buildings, cattle, and carriages, and does not extend to furniture, clothes, produce, trading goods, or specie. It should seem, therefore, that

the actual value of property cannot be much less than double the rated amount. Should we suppose it £8,000,000 sterling, the average share to each individual will be £20, or for a family of five, £100; and this will probably purchase the means of living to double the amount which the same sum would procure in Britain.

Upper Canada, as formerly observed, enjoys a climate considerably milder than that of the lower province. The great water-communication, along which it extends, stretches upwards from Montreal, in a south-western direction, till it reaches nearly the latitude of New York. M. Bouchette has given a comparative table, from which it appears, that in the year 1820, the mean annual heat was six and a half degrees higher than in the other province. The extremes, also, are less severe; for while the mean of the four winter months is from thirteen to seventeen degrees higher, that of July and August is a little lower. Nor do the seasons follow each other so abruptly as at Quebec; and hence a certain interval occurs between winter and summer. In return for these advantages, the weather is observed to be more variable, and there are only two months in which sleighing or sledge-travelling over the hard snow can be practised. Ague, too, more especially in the newly-settled districts, though not fatal, is distressing and debilitating. But the mildness of the climate affords to the farmer the important advantage, that he can sow wheat in autumn, which thus attains a quality superior to that of the spring-sown grain, hitherto alone reared in other parts of British America. The opportunity of cultivating the finer fruits is a less momentous though a very agreeable circumstance.

The soil of Upper Canada, at least within the present range of settlement, bears a very superior character. Its fertility, indeed, as will presently appear, is not so uniform as has sometimes been represented; yet there is probably no tract of equal extent in the temperate zone with which it may not be advantageously compared.

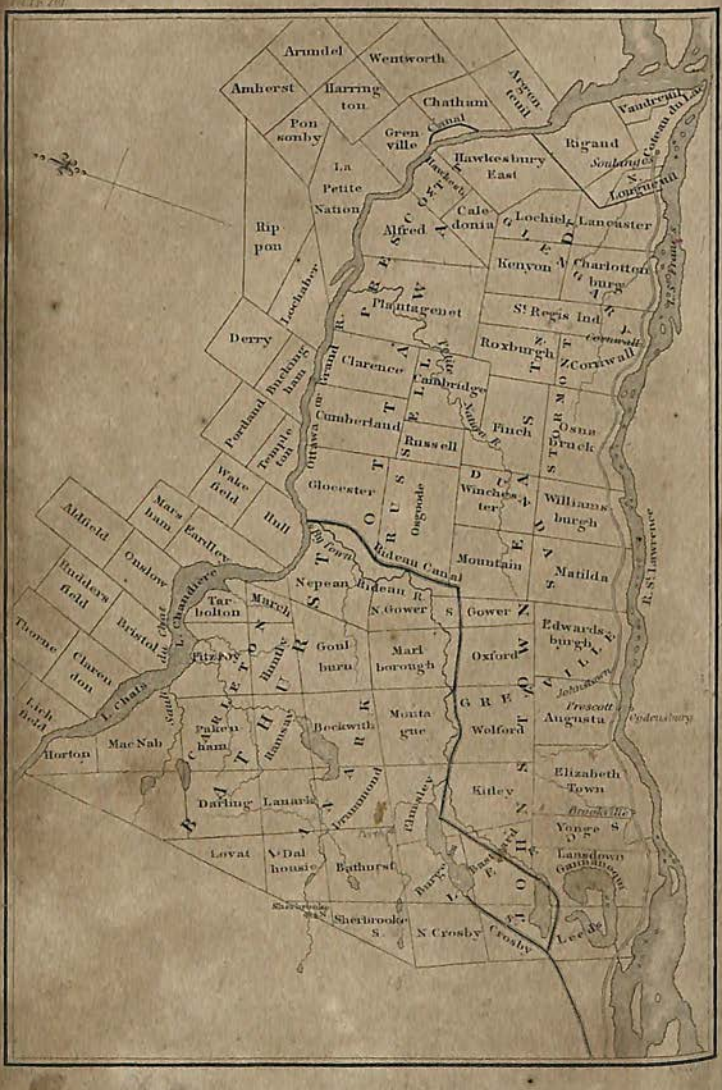
It is nowhere mountainous, nor, with very few exceptions, is it rocky. Considerable tracts are light and sandy, but few so much so as to be absolutely barren. The productiveness of the country appears to be chiefly interrupted by swamps, which cover a large space, both in the most eastern and most western districts.*

The circumstances alluded to in the beginning of the preceding chapter, as giving a peculiar importance to Canadian topography, apply in an especial degree to the upper province, which has for some time been the favourite resort of British emigrants, and its remotest localities have of late acquired a deep political importance. The materials, indeed, are not quite so ample as could be wished, for Messrs Bouchette and M'Gregor have given only some general views on the subject. Reports, however, have been made respecting most of the townships, by deputy surveyors and inspectors, to the justices at quarter sessions, as well as to the provincial government, with a view to the guidance of settlers. These have been communicated by Mr Picken, in the work on the Canadas, which he composed with the aid of documents furnished by Mr Galt; also in the volume entitled, "The Canadas as they now are, by a late Resident." Mr Gourlay, too, in 1817, procured a considerable number of similar returns, which still hold good, so far as concerns the natural capabilities of the country. Supplementary information has been gleaned from Shirreff, Ferguson, and other travellers, who have examined different districts with a special view to emigration. To Mr Martin we are indebted for the population of the townships in 1833; and the statements brought down to 1835 are derived from the most respectable private sources.

Upper Canada is divided into eleven districts, subdivided into twenty-six counties, and six ridings, which altogether comprise 277 townships. An official report

* Gourlay's Statistical View of Upper Canada, vol. ii. pp. 8-14, 139, 170, 222. Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 76, 88, 89, 108-110, 237. Martin, pp. 297, 298.

EASTERN DISTRICTS.



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in 1835, relating, we presume, to the lands actually occupied, gives the amount in all these districts at 5,700,000 acres, of which not more than 1,308,000 were under cultivation. In entering upon the description of this province, we shall follow the example of M. Bouchette, in dividing it into three great portions, the Eastern, the Central, and the Western. We must nevertheless dissent from him so far as to attach the Midland District to the central part, where it appears to us clearly placed by nature. The eastern division will then contain the territory between the St Lawrence and the Ottawa; the central will have its base on Lake Ontario, and extend north towards the latter of these rivers, without, however, at all approaching it as to actual settlement. The western division composes an extensive peninsula, nearly enclosed by Ontario, Erie, St Clair, and Huron, and the channels by which these lakes are connected.

The eastern division, then, consists of four districts: Eastern and Johnstown on the St Lawrence, Ottawa and Bathurst on the Ottawa. It comprised, in 1835, a population of 87,380, to whom belonged 227,010 cultivated acres, 1,149,856 uncultivated, 11,361 horses, and 45,041 horned cattle. It is well watered, not only by the two great rivers, but by several important tributaries, of which the largest fall into the Ottawa. The Petite Nation, rising only about five miles from the St Lawrence, near Johnstown, traverses the territory in a line nearly due north-east. The Rideau, the Mississippi (quite distinct from the great central river of that name), and the Madawaska, rise in the Midland District, and flow in an easterly direction till they reach the Ottawa. The only important tributary to the St Lawrence is the Gananoqui, which falls into it near Lansdown.

The soil of this part of Canada has been somewhat variously reported, but appears on the whole not so uniformly good as in the more western districts. Considerable tracts are sandy, some are marshy, and others are broken and rocky. There is not wanting, however, a very fair proportion of fine land. The climate, being

more northerly than on the upper course of the river, is not so mild, and the summers are shorter; yet, even in these respects, it has the advantage of Lower Canada. It has also the benefit of being near Montreal, where agricultural commodities can be readily turned into money; and the produce of the dairy, with vegetables, fruits, and other articles, which elsewhere can be raised only for home use, find a value in that market. There is an easy conveyance to it by the rivers, though the roads in the inland townships are very defective. Its progress, however, has been particularly retarded by large and improvident grants to American loyalists, disbanded officers and soldiers, or favourites of the ruling powers. Many of these have altogether neglected their lots, and few have turned them to account with that active and improving spirit which has animated the recent classes of British emigrants. The military settlers, it is said, generally showed themselves incapable of the persevering labour necessary to bring wild land into a productive state, and took the first opportunity of selling their allotments. Hence its progress, though great and rapid, has not equalled that of the western districts, towards which the tide of immigration has been chiefly directed.

The EASTERN DISTRICT, that nearest to Montreal, extends along the St Lawrence about sixty miles, with a breadth of about thirty. It contained, in 1835, 70,645$\frac{2}{4}$ acres cultivated, and 355,071$\frac{1}{2}$ uncultivated, 13,119 horned cattle, and 5148 horses. The population, which in 1817 Mr Gourlay estimated at 12,700, had, in 1826, risen to 17,000, in 1832 to 23,743, and in 1835 to 29,119. For thirty miles up, the river is navigable; but then commence those formidable rapids, which render it necessary that the produce of all the districts situated along their course should be conveyed a certain distance by land. The main road into Upper Canada, called Dundas Street, passes through it, and though very imperfect, like all others in this country, is of considerable use. The soil appears to possess the variable degree of fertility general

in this tract, being chiefly deteriorated by extensive swamps. Limestone, however, abounds, also good stone for building, and earth fitted for making bricks. The Canada Company have purchased a considerable extent of crown lands in different townships.

Eastern District is divided into the counties of Glengary, Stormont, and Dundas.

Glengary comprises the townships of Lancaster and Charlottenburg, fronting the river, particularly that broad part of it called Lake St Francis; those of Lochiel and Kenyon are in the rear. The soil is in general good, excepting some portion of Lochiel which is low and stony, and of Lancaster which is light and sandy. Charlottenburg, which in 1833 contained 4576 settlers, is watered by the river Aux Raisins; Lochiel, having 2152, by the La Grasse; and Lancaster, having 2230, by the Delisle; all of them small streams, but useful for turning mills. Kenyon has 1573 inhabitants. This district, as its name imports, has been chiefly settled by Scottish Highlanders, who, displaying their characteristic qualities, have partially redeemed the soil, and brought it into tolerable cultivation. Yet skilful farmers remark, that they have not drawn from it all the means of comfort which it is fitted to afford; and hence its settlements consist only of diminutive log-houses, with a few acres cleared round them, exhibiting altogether a slovenly and neglected aspect. There is no place which can make any pretensions to the name of a town. The Canada Company have lands to dispose of in Lancaster and Lochiel; but those of the best quality are already occupied.

Stormont, the next county, consists of Cornwall and Osnabruck in front, Roxburgh and Finch in the rear. In 1833, Cornwall and Roxburgh contained 4586 settlers, Osnabruck 2313, Finch 413. The first has a good soil, though in some places stony; and being watered by the river Aux Raisins, it has numerous mills. The second enjoys a similar advantage; but the land, which, towards the interior is a strong clay, is in front light and thin. Roxburgh has a black loam and argillaceous soil;

some part is stony, and a large portion swampy; yet it is ill watered, though small branches of the Raisins and Petite Nation pass through it. Finch is described as a very fine district, with the exception of a sandy tract in the rear; but falling into the hands of proprietors who did not know its value, it has been much neglected. The Canada Company have here purchased a large lot, and also some of the best land in Roxburgh. Cornwall, on the St Lawrence, has some pretensions to the character of a town, containing 1047 inhabitants, a church, courthouse, and other buildings. The navigation upwards to Prescott being greatly impeded, there is much land-travelling between the two places, which affords support to both.

Dundas includes the townships of Williamsburgh, with 1586 settlers, and Matilda, with 1448, in front; Mountain with 707, and Winchester with 181, in the rear. The soil of this last is very favourably spoken of, though rather swampy. It is well watered by the Petite Nation, which serves in summer for boat conveyance, and in winter as a road. A small canal from it to the St Lawrence would greatly benefit the country. Williamsburgh has very good land, well settled by American loyalists, but the tract behind is little occupied. Matilda is a productive district, and well managed. Mountain is also represented as possessing an excellent soil, and, notwithstanding the obstructions from improvident grants; a thriving settlement has been formed on the Petite Nation. The Company have purchased a considerable lot in this as well as the neighbouring township of Winchester, and hope, by arrangements in their block, to effect speedy improvement.*

Johnstown District extends from the boundary of the one just described, westward along the St Lawrence. It is not quite so long as the eastern, but it stretches more deeply into the interior, so that it may be regarded

* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 566. Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 109, 75, 76. Picken, p. 118-124. Canadas as they now are, p. 51-55. Martin, p. 220. Ferguson's Practical Notes (Edinburgh, 1833), pp. 85, 265.

as forming a square of about fifty miles in every direction. It has been divided into a triple range of townships, the third or most inland of which is considerably distant from the St Lawrence; but this is amply compensated by the Rideau Canal, which traverses it from east to west. The navigation of the great river along its front is mostly unobstructed, which gives it a ready communication with Kingston, though the more important intercourse with Montreal is rendered imperfect by the rapids below; but, to balance this loss, there is now a free, though circuitous, navigation by the Rideau and the Ottawa. The soil is as various as that of the Eastern; its fertility is chiefly interrupted by rocky tracts, which extend along the banks of the river, and give a very unfavourable impression to the navigator; but in the rear it generally improves. Johnstown, in 1835, contained 82,813 acres of cultivated and 331,134 of uncultivated land, 16,338 horned cattle, and 3924 horses. The population, estimated by Mr Gourlay, in 1817, at 9200, had risen, in 1826, to 15,354, and in 1835 to 28,504. Its augmentation, especially during the latter period, it thus appears, has been extremely rapid.

This district is divided into two counties, Grenville and Leeds. The former contains eight townships; Edwardsburgh, with 1584 settlers, and Augusta, with 4091, on the river; South Gower, containing 646, Oxford, 1292, and Wolford, 1121, in the second range; North Gower, having 245, Marlborough, 445, and Montague, 755, in the third. Edwardsburgh possesses a good soil, and is well settled; but the navigation of the St Lawrence in that quarter is encumbered by rapids. It contains Johnstown, the nominal capital of the district, and a large village, almost a complete counterpart to Cornwall. Augusta, the next western township, is also favourably described. It includes Prescott, now called Fort Wellington, advantageously situated at the termination of the rapids, so that it forms the limit of the upper steam navigation. Travellers or goods proceeding down the river must disembark, and proceed either in boats or by land. Hence

M. Bouchette, though it consisted, when he visited the district, of only forty or fifty houses, anticipated a rapid increase; but of this Mr Ferguson, some years after, saw no appearance, the place being far outstripped by Ogdensburg, on the opposite side of the river.

The townships of South Gower, Oxford, and Wolford, which form the second line in this county, are described in nearly the same favourable terms; the soil good, and the situation tolerable, as they have the Rideau navigation on the one side, and on the other passable roads to Prescott and Johnstown. North Gower, Marlborough, and Montague, are represented, the two first as good, the third inferior, but not bad. All three have the advantage of being traversed by the canal, which opens a distant intercourse with Montreal, and a near one with the most flourishing settlements on the Ottawa.

Leeds, the next county, contains in front the townships of Elizabeth Town, with 4350 settlers; Yonge, 2894; Lansdown and Leeds, the two, 1867: in the second line, Kitley, 1071; Bastard, 1825; and South Crosby, 554: in the third, Elmsley, 1070; Burgess, 304; and North Crosby, 185. The first is one of the best tracts in this quarter. The land, towards the river, is broken and rocky; and some parts are sandy; but the greater portion, especially in the rear, is extremely good. In front is Brockville, named from the gallant officer who fell in the battle of Queenston. It seems the most thriving place between Montreal and Kingston, and, as we are informed by Mr Evans, contains 2000 inhabitants, a neat Presbyterian church, and numerous houses two stories in height. The main road to Albany and other parts of New York commences on the opposite side of the river. Yonge, the next township, is described as nearly similar, and possessing the same advantages. Lansdown presents a different aspect. The ground bordering on the river is stony and ill cultivated; but the rear, according to Mr Smart's report, shows a very considerable improvement, and contains some excellent farms. A large portion is covered by the lakes of Gananoqui, which present varied and

beautiful scenery. Leeds is still less favoured by nature, being throughout rugged and rocky, though including scattered patches of good land, and in the rear some fine farms. Limestone and ironstone abound in both these townships, particularly in Leeds; but the latter has not yet been turned to any advantage.

In the second line of this county, Kitley is reported by the commissioners as indifferent. Mr Smart gives a much better account, admitting, at the same time, that the soil is in some places shallow, and poorly watered. Bastard is said to be excellent, and South Crosby, though rocky, contains much good land. All the three enjoy more or less the benefit of the Rideau Canal. In the third line, Elmsley and Burgess are described as being indifferent, but the former has the benefit of the navigation. North Crosby has a good soil, but is destitute of water-conveyance.*

Ottawa District extends from the frontier of Lower Canada, along the southern bank of that river; for the opposite one, as already noticed, belongs to the lower province. The land-boundary is the Eastern District, with which its dimensions, both as to length and breadth, nearly coincide. The situation is extremely favourable, whether along the river, which is here navigable for steam-vessels, or along the Rideau Canal. The soil, however, is decidedly inferior, being either light and sandy or covered with extensive swamps; though this last description is said to suit the French habitans. The population consists of a mixture from the United States, with English, Scotch, and French Canadians, many of whom have made considerable efforts to render their possessions valuable; but improvement is much obstructed by the intervention of large tracts of land, granted long ago, and still neglected. Mr Gourlay, in 1818, did not conceive the population to exceed 1500; in 1826, it had risen to 3009; in 1832, to 6348, and in 1835, to 7044.

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 109, 76. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 509-518. Picken, pp. 144, 145. Canadas as they now are, p. 56-59. Martin, p. 222.

At this last period, the cultivated acres amounted to 16,354, and the uncultivated, to 110,288; it contained 3525 horned cattle, and 748 horses. The Canada Company have purchased considerable lots, and are making exertions to improve them. It is divided into two counties,—Prescott and Russell.

Prescott has, on the front line, four townships, Hawkesbury East, with 833 settlers in 1833, and West with 1440; the latter is sometimes called Longueuil; Alfred has 112, and Plantagenet 613. In regard to the soil of the two Hawkesburys, reports which should be authentic differ very widely; that to the Quarter Sessions representing it in both as rough, stony, and gravelly; while Mr M'Dowell, deputy-surveyor to the Canada Company, describes both as good, though the second is in some parts swampy. They form, the last especially, the best-settled part of the district, held by industrious and improving colonists. Alfred is admitted on all hands to be poor, the roads bad, and settlements thin; but hopes are entertained that natives of the lower province may turn the swampy tracts to account. Plantagenet has some good land, and its favourable situation, with the Petite Nation flowing through it into the Ottawa, has obtained for it many more inhabitants. Caledonia, behind West Hawkesbury, has also some rich spots, but is in other parts very swampy, and yet has 311 settlers. Plantagenet-rear is still worse situated, in both respects, though a road from Cornwall passes through it.

Russell county contains, in front, Clarence, with 125 settlers; Cumberland, 1161; and Gloucester, 653; in rear, Osgoode, 198; Russell and Cambridge, 37. The two first are tolerably good, though interspersed with sandy and marshy tracts. The occupants, however, are few, and nearly confined to the bank of the river. A great part is monopolized by old proprietors, who either neglect their lots, or have sold them to speculators, by whom an enormous price is demanded. Gloucester not only contains much good land, but is very happily situated, having the Ottawa in front, and the Rideau

on its western frontier, besides several tributary creeks. Farther improvement may still be expected, owing to the completion of the canal connected with the latter river, on which the principal settlements are already situated. The Canada Company have some valuable lots upon the river Rideau. Cambridge is light, sandy, and swampy, with some good land, but as yet wholly unoccupied, and destitute of roads or other communications. Russell possesses scarcely any natural superiority; but it has been located by a party of Scottish immigrants. Osgoode is an extensive township, with a large proportion of rich soil, and the important advantage of the Rideau navigation on its front. Although, therefore, it has been much neglected, there seems every probability of its rising speedily into greater importance.*

Bathurst, till 1816, had no existence as a district, being only an uncultivated appendage to Johnstown. At that time a body of North British settlers formed a range of townships in rear of the latter, to which they gave the general name of Perth, and by their industry and perseverance have rendered it very flourishing. Behind it, another called Lanark was occupied by troops, chiefly from Scottish regiments disbanded at the close of the last war. Afterwards, when the great works of the Rideau navigation were undertaken, the township situated at their commencement on the Ottawa, attracted a large population. The banks of the river, upwards from this point, and those of the great lakes Chaudière and Chats, being particularly romantic and agreeable, induced a number of highly respectable individuals, particularly the Highland chieftain M'Nab, to settle on them. This district, which in 1815 was a complete wilderness, in 1826 contained 11,364 inhabitants, which had risen in 1832 to 22,286, and in 1835 to 22,693. In this last year

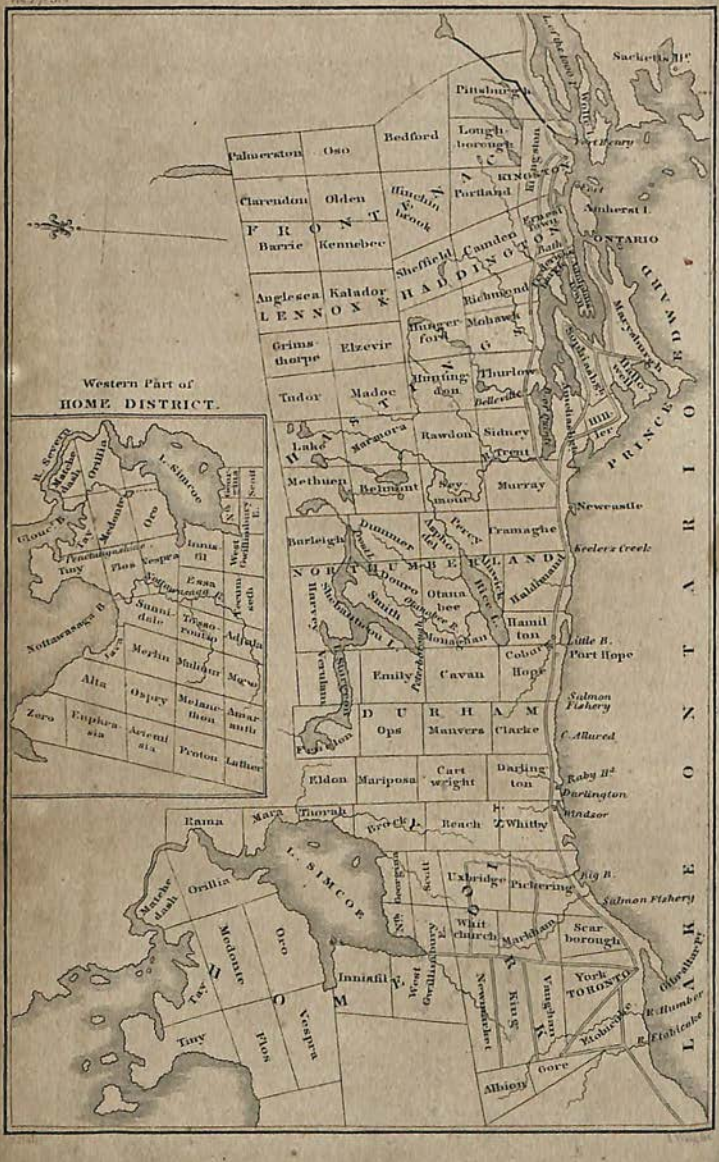
* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 109. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 612. Tables for Colonies, 1832, p. 9. Picken, p. 128-144. Canadas as they now are, p. 64.

there were 57,197 acres cultivated, and 353,362 uncultivated, 12,459 horned cattle, and 1541 horses. It is divided into two counties,—Lanark and Carleton.

Lanark consists of the two ranges formed chiefly by Caledonian settlers, in rear of Johnstown. The first line comprises Beckwith, with 2217 settlers; Drummond, 2472; Bathurst, 2019; and South Sherbrooke, 98. These townships are represented as possessing much good land, carefully cultivated by industrious colonists. Perth, in the county of Drummond, and connected with the Rideau by a small river called the Tay, has become a village of some importance, with a population of about 400 comfortable houses, a church, and other accommodations. The range behind, but still not reaching the Ottawa, consists of Darling, Ramsay, 1775; Lanark, 1845; Dalhousie, 1019, and North Sherbrooke, 262. These are nowhere very minutely described; but they appear, in territory and culture, nearly to resemble the first range. They have the advantage of being traversed by the Mississippi, which connects them with the Grand River.

The county of Carleton comprehends the settlements situated on or near the Ottawa. The principal of these is Nepean, with 2810 settlers, and includes the point at which that great stream is connected with the Rideau river and canal. The large body of men employed on that vast work, the market which they afforded, and the numerous individuals who remained after its completion, have caused it to be well settled and inhabited. Bytown, at the junction of the canal, is named from Colonel By, its able engineer: In 1831 it contained nearly 150 houses, only of wood indeed, but built regularly, and in many instances with much neatness and taste. The scenery is singularly picturesque. The view from the colonel's mansion includes the falls of the Chaudière, the opposite shores, partly wild and broken, partly adorned by the flourishing settlements of Hull, and the river itself diversified by numerous verdant islands. A large hospital and three barracks are built of stone.

CENTRAL DISTRICTS.



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The resort, on account of the canal and the fine scenery which adorns the Lakes Chaudière and Chats, has induced many respectable families to colonize this district. Some distance above Bytown is Britannia, a valuable property with extensive mills, finely situated near the beautiful rapid Des Chênes. The causes now mentioned have produced in the townships of March and Tarbolton a continuous range of settlements along the river, containing respectively 426 and 96. Fitzroy, 327, Huntly, 1031, and Pakenham, 408, strike obliquely into the interior, and present much good land. From the boundary of Tarbolton, an impervious wilderness extends along the rapids of the Chats and part of the lake of that name; but on its upper shore M'Nab has located himself with a body of his clan, amounting to 318, on a township bearing his name. By indefatigable exertions, he has rendered his residence of Kinnell Lodge exceedingly comfortable; and the traveller in those wild regions meets here a cordial welcome. Unluckily his example has not operated with sufficient force on his followers, whose habits do not thoroughly fit them for the patient toil required to bring the wilderness under cultivation; however, improvement is going on, though slowly.*

The central portion, which we consider as consisting of the Midland, Newcastle, and Home districts, has its base upon the northern shores of Lake Ontario, whence it extends towards the Ottawa; but long before reaching that boundary, which from the direction of the stream becomes more and more distant, every trace of settlement disappears amidst one vast and pathless forest. This forms by far the most extensive part of Upper Canada, and from its abundance of fertile land is extremely valuable. Till of late, however, it was the least occupied, being nowhere cultivated, but in the vicinity of the government stations. The eastern was nearer to Lower Canada, while the western possessed

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 109, 80-83. Tables, 1832, p. 9. Canadas as they now are, p. 64-67. Martin, p. 223.

great facilities for the fur-trade, with which view chiefly this upper quarter was in early times resorted to. But the tide of immigration which has lately flowed into Canada has directed itself, in a great degree, towards this central district. It was found more fruitful and much less occupied than the eastern, while it has a nearer market for its agricultural produce than the western. Its increase, accordingly, within the last fifteen years, has been astonishing. The population in 1817 is estimated by Mr Gourlay at 27,753, in 1824 it had risen to 53,600, in 1832 to 115,504, and in 1835 to 124,473. At the latter date its settlements possessed 461,275 acres cultivated, 1,469,493 uncultivated, 17,938 horses, and 68,634 horned cattle. It is watered by the Moira, Trent, and other rivers of some magnitude. This last is connected with a chain of important lakes, at the head of which is the large one named Simcoe. These waters afford considerable accommodation to the colonists; though they flow from too short a distance to afford an adequate conveyance if cultivation were to stretch much farther northward.*

The MIDLAND DISTRICT, which till lately was the only one generally peopled, extends from the centre of the Lake of the Thousand Islands to the western extremity of the Bay of Quinté; a length of about eighty miles. Towards the interior it is laid out in fine ranges of townships, which reach nearly fifty miles from the lake; but the unoccupied portion, stretching to the Ottawa, is much more extensive. The settled part in 1835 contained 187,338 cultivated and 358,214 uncultivated acres. The population, which in 1817 was reckoned at 15,053, had risen in 1824 to 27,695, in 1832 to 42,294, and in 1835 to 46,685; and at the latter period they could boast of 24,535 cattle, and 8550 horses. The land, with certain exceptions, is good, and in some parts excellent, particularly along Lake Ontario and the Bay of

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 108. Gourlay, vol. ii. pp. 464, 469, 497. Tables, 1832, p. 9.

Quinté; but having now been long under cultivation, symptoms of exhaustion are observed, which the farmers have not yet learned to remedy by manure. This district is divided into four counties,—Frontenac, Lennox and Haddington, Hastings, and Prince Edward.

Frontenac contains the townships of Pittsburgh and Kingston, situated on the lake and river. The former contains 987 settlers, some fine land, with a large proportion that is indifferent; the second, with 3013 inhabitants, is generally good, though in some parts rocky. The soil is mostly clay, covered originally with a thick stratum of vegetable mould, now a good deal exhausted by long cropping. Lime is every where plentiful, and the sugar maple flourishes luxuriantly. These districts, having long derived great advantages from the vicinity of the capital, which affords an advantageous market, were well improved while the rest of the province was lying waste. Two adjacent islands, called Howe and Grand Isle or Wolfe, form each a township with 611 inhabitants. Loughborough with 1112 settlers, and Portland with 484, are immediately in the rear of Kingston, but both are wet and somewhat unhealthy. Bedford and Hinchinbrook, forming the third range, are described by the surveyors as "not very good." On the fourth line, Kennebec is reported to be positively bad; Oso and Olden remain undescribed. On the fifth range, comprising Barrie, Palmerston, and Clarendon, report is equally silent: their remote situation indeed appears to have prevented their settlement, and the presumption seems to be against them. Their distance from the lake, and the want of a navigable river, must long operate unfavourably.

Kingston, in this county, was the original capital of Upper Canada, and, even after the transference of the seat of government to Toronto, continued the most flourishing, till the agricultural colonies formed in the west gave to the latter the pre-eminence. It is, as we have already noticed, advantageously built on the site of Fort Frontenac, at the junction of the St Lawrence.

with Lake Ontario; a position which has raised it to considerable importance as the main entrepot between the lower and upper province. Barks of from 80 to nearly 200 tons carry on an active intercourse with Toronto, Niagara, and other places on the lake; and magnificent steam-vessels convey passengers to and from those places. To accommodate this trade, wharfs and a number of spacious warehouses have been provided; the harbour being easily accessible to vessels not requiring more than three fathoms water. The streets are regularly arranged at right angles, but not paved; the houses are chiefly built of stone, and are spacious and convenient, though without much attention to elegance. About half a mile distant is a low peninsula ending in Point Frederic, which, with another parallel one terminating in Point Henry, encloses Navy Bay,—the depot for the maritime armament formed during the late war. On its western side is a dock-yard with other accommodations; and in this inland station were built some of the largest ships in the British navy. Point Frederic is connected with the town by a wooden bridge 600 yards long, at once solidly constructed and very ornamental. The town in 1833 contained 4196 inhabitants.

The county of Lennox and Haddington, contiguous on the west to the one now described, possesses a more favourable soil. Its front townships,—Ernest Town, having 3763 settlers, Adolphus Town, 666, Fredericksburgh, 2556, and Richmond, 1867, are all reported as generally good, and deriving great advantages from their situation along the exterior coast of the Bay of Quinté. The last only has bad land in the rear; which is compensated by having the river Napanee flowing through it. Camden, which, with its 1780 settlers, occupies the whole of the second line, is also reported to be good, and is well watered by the same stream. Sheffield, situated behind it, is decidedly inferior; and Kalador, in the fourth range, still more so. The fifth consists of Anglesea, respecting which no report has yet been received. Amherst Island, in Ontario, is one of the townships of this county.

The county of Hastings extends also along the Bay of Quinté, and thence into the interior. It has three front townships,—Tyendinaga or Mohawk, with 692 settlers, Thurlow, with 1511, and Sidney, with 2237. The first has a poor soil, but is watered by the river Salmon. The two others are favourably reported; the second is traversed by the river Moira, at the mouth of which is the flourishing village of Belleville; and the third has the larger stream of the Trent on its western border. The second range consists of Hungerford, Huntingdon, and Rawdon. The two first have an indifferent soil, and few advantages of situation. The third possesses a considerable extent of good land in front, and is crossed by a tolerable road leading to the iron works at Marmora, and also by branches of the Trent. Behind these, we find Elzevir, bad; Madoc, generally good; Marmora, not very good: this last at one time had iron works of some importance, but they are at present suspended. Tudor, Grimsthorpe, and Lake in the extreme rear, have not yet been reported.

The county of Prince Edward consists of the peninsula enclosed between Lake Ontario and the long windings of the Bay of Quinté. It contains the townships of Ameliasburgh, with 1722 settlers, Hillier, with 1733, Hallowell, with 3525, Sophiasburgh, with 2137, and Marysburgh, with 1674. The report as to these is generally favourable; the lands are nearly all occupied; and the settlers derive great benefit from the vicinity of water-carriage. In the latest returns to government, this county is described as a separate district, containing 68,900 cultivated acres, and 12,320 inhabitants.*

The NEWCASTLE DISTRICT commences where the Midland ends, at the western extremity of the Bay of Quinté, whence it extends about sixty miles along the coast of Ontario, when, by an arbitrary line, it is separated from the Home district. Its northern boundary,

* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 496. Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 106, 76-78. Tables, 1832, p. 9. Picken, p. 146-149. Canadas as they now are, p. 67-72.

like that of the Midland, is nominally formed by the Ottawa, in which direction it extends not less than 200 miles; but the actual settlements cover only a small portion of this wide space. Notwithstanding an extensive sandy tract on Rice Lake, it contains a greater proportion of good land than any of the districts yet described; and the lake, itself twenty-five miles long and four or five broad, forms a valuable water-communication. A portage, indeed, intervenes between Balsam and Simcoe; but this obstacle, as well as others, are expected to be removed by canals, and by improving the Trent, with which it is connected. Notwithstanding its advantages, however, this district, as it neither contained any principal town, nor lay in the line of the fur-trade, was long almost wholly neglected. In 1817 it was estimated to contain 5000 inhabitants, and even in 1824 it had only 9292; but since that time it has been a favourite resort for immigrants, so that in 1832 it numbered 25,560, and in 1835, 30,245 settlers. It then possessed 94,419 cultivated acres, 434,526 uncultivated, 15,367 horned cattle, and 3339 horses. It is divided into townships, that reach into the interior about the same distance as those of the Midland; but as the Ottawa boundary is still more distant, the unoccupied tract is very extensive. The counties are two,—Northumberland and Durham.

The first of these has, in front on the lake, four townships,—Murray, 1738 settlers, Cramaghe, 1905, Hamilton, 2871, and Haldimand, 1857. These are not the finest in the district, though the first is described as generally good and well watered; but owing to the streams flowing through a level country, there is a want of mill power. The three others, with some good, contain a large proportion of bad land, which, in the second and fourth, also predominates. In Hamilton they are about equally divided; and its situation on the shores of Ontario is very advantageous. The port of Coburg is the principal one in the district. In 1812 it consisted of one house; in 1827 it was believed to contain 350 inhabitants, with an Episcopal church and Methodist

meeting-house; and since that time it has very much increased. It commands the road to the country on and beyond Rice Lake; for the productions of which it is the chief market. The vicinity exhibits a number of farms, whose condition and management pleased even the eye of Mr Shirreff.

In the second range, the townships of Seymour, Percy, and Alnwick, contain as yet very few settlers. The greater number, 377, are in Percy, which has a good soil, and is watered by the Trent. Alnwick, on the southern bank of Rice Lake, is poor and sandy, which quality of land, however, has been thought adapted to sheep-farming, a branch of industry little practised in Canada. Immigrants have been chiefly attracted to the north-western side of the lake, formed into the townships of Monaghan and Otanabee. These, divided by the river bearing the latter name, are described as generally good, though interspersed with steril and swampy tracts. This quarter was nearly unoccupied till 1825, when Mr Robinson conducted thither a large colony of Irish; and it has since been a favourite resort, particularly for half-pay officers. In the north-eastern angle of Monaghan has been founded the town of Peterborough, which now contains about 1000 inhabitants. It is somewhat rudely built of wood, covering a great extent of ground; and, as we have been informed, the stumps of trees in many places are left standing in the streets. It has waters, however, admirably fitted for mills, and several accordingly have been erected. The settlers collect the productions of the country behind, and transmit them to Coburg by the Rice Lake, on which steam-vessels now regularly ply. There are churches, both Roman Catholic and Episcopal; a school, partly supported by government; and a commodious hotel. In consequence of the number of military settlers, the society is supposed to be particularly polished and agreeable. Asphodel, eastward, in an oblique line, from Otanabee, is a good township, with 265 inhabitants, and watered both by Rice Lake and the Trent.

The fourth range, consisting of Emily Gore, Smith,

Douro, Dummer, and Belmont, has, in consequence of its water communication by the Otanabee with Peterborough and Rice Lake, been better settled than is usual with townships so much in the interior. Emily Gore, or Ennismore, with 254 cultivators, has an excellent soil of loam resting upon clay; and in 1825 it received a numerous body of Irish from Kerry. Smith, having 753 colonists, is happily situated between the Otanabee and a chain of small lakes, which form it into a peninsula, and between which there is an Indian portage. It was settled first by a party of Cumberland miners, located there by government about the year 1818, who were afterwards joined by parties from the north of Ireland, and by a portion of those who came from the south in 1825. Douro, with 571 inhabitants, has a calcareous soil, well watered, but in part swampy. It is also occupied by the emigrants of 1825, and by disbanded militia. The Canada Company have lands in this and the two preceding townships. Dummer resembles the last in the nature of its soil, though the rear is rocky, and no settlements have yet been formed on it. This is also the case with Belmont, which is of rather an indifferent quality. The fifth range, consisting of Methuen, Burleigh, and Harvey, labours under considerable disadvantages both as to barrenness and situation, and has not yet attracted the notice of immigrants.

Durham county contains in front the townships,—Clarke, with 919 settlers, Hope, with 2272, and Darlington, with 1098. All three are described as of good soil, and advantageously situated on Lake Ontario; but the improvement of the first and last is much obstructed, owing to the great quantity of land held by absentees; whence, perhaps, arises that bad management of which Mr Shirreff complains. The middle one exhibits a more improved aspect, containing Port Hope, on the Ontario, an agreeable and thriving place, with all the usual appendages of a country town; and it has, besides, a stream with a fall, well fitted for mills. On the second range, Cavan, with a soil generally fertile, derives great

advantages from its vicinity to Otanabee and Rice Lake. It began to be settled in 1817, and there are now 2173 inhabitants, chiefly Protestants from the north of Ireland. There is an Episcopal church, and six schools. The farms are in good order, though the dwellings are only log-houses. To the westward, on this line, are Manvers and Cartwright, of much inferior quality, though the latter is rather the best, but neither is yet occupied. On the fourth line, Emily, adjoining to Emily Gore in Northumberland, and possessed of nearly the same advantages, has attracted 1095 Irish, of whom those from the north are in the front, those from the south in the rear. A road has been opened to Peterborough, whither the produce is expected to be mostly conveyed. Of the western townships on this range, Ops has a very fine soil, unless in the north-eastern angle, where it is encumbered by swamps; but the want of roads and mills has prevented its attracting more than 545 colonists. Mariposa is described as being generally good land; though, from its remote situation, it is occupied only by 208 persons. In the fifth line, Eldon has now 406. Verulam and Fenelon are as yet scarcely known, and lie beyond the limits of settlement.*

The HOME DISTRICT extends from the boundary of Newcastle,—westward to the river Credit, near the termination of Lake Ontario,—northward to Lake Nipissing, which flows thence into the Georgian Bay; but that large branch of Lake Huron covers a great proportion of this district, rendering it considerably smaller than either of the two last described. In its extent of settlement, however, it fully equals either; for though Lake Simcoe occupies a considerable surface, it affords at the same time facilities of intercourse, by means of which culture is carried to a great distance inland. A road, called Yonge Street, above thirty miles long, connects Toronto, the capital, with this lake. It

* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 469. Bouchette, vol. i. p. 108. Picken, p. 150-166. Canadas as they now are, p. 72-78. Shirreff, pp. 122, 123.

was carefully improved by the North-west Fur Company, and having of late been partly macadamized, is one of the best in Canada. On the borders of Lake Ontario the soil is poor and sandy, bearing only pines; but along the road now mentioned, and around Lake Simcoe, it is exceedingly fertile, excellently fitted for wheat. Accordingly it has attracted an ample share of the recent immigrations. In 1817 we find its population estimated at 7700; in 1824 it reached 16,609; and in 1835 it had risen to no less than 47,543. In that year the cultivated acres amounted to 179,518, and the uncultivated to 690,753. It contained 28,732 horned cattle, and 6049 horses.

This district is divided into three counties,—York, East and West Ridings, and Simcoe. The first comprises the territory along Ontario, and thence to the southern shore of Lake Simcoe, the East Riding including by far the larger portion, with the capital. Its townships are,—Whitby, population, 3212; Pickering, 1807; Scarborough, 1897; York and Peninsula, 3544; Etobicoke, 1290; Markham, 4436; Vaughan, 2861; King, 1672; Whitchurch, 2732; Uxbridge and Reach, uncertain; Guillimbury East, 1389, and North, 467; Scott, uncertain; Georgina, 855; Brock, 1032. The West Riding consists only of a narrow stripe on the western frontier, composed of the townships,—Toronto, 4990; Toronto Gore, 483; Chinguacousy, 2728; Caledon, 1233; and Albion, 1050.

The county of Simcoe consists of the townships lying north-west of the lake of that name, and extending thence to the Severn, and towards the Huron. These are,—West Guillimbury, population, 1293; Tecumseth, 1389; Adjala, 787; Mono, 1208; Amaranth, Luther, Proton, Melancthon, Mulmur, Tossorontio, Essa, 167; Innisfil, 406; Thorah, 431; Mara, Rama, Oro, 881; Vespra, 236; Sunnidale, Merlin, Ospry, Artemisia, Euphrasia, Alta, Java, Flos, 90; Medonte, 448; Orillia, Matchedash, Tiny, and Tay, 401; Zero. From some unexplained cause, the official reports, in which the

detailed notice of the townships in the preceding districts were derived, are wanting with regard to the one now under consideration. Mr Gourlay also complains of not having received a single return from any of its districts. We must therefore be content with giving a general view of it from the best sources which can be procured.

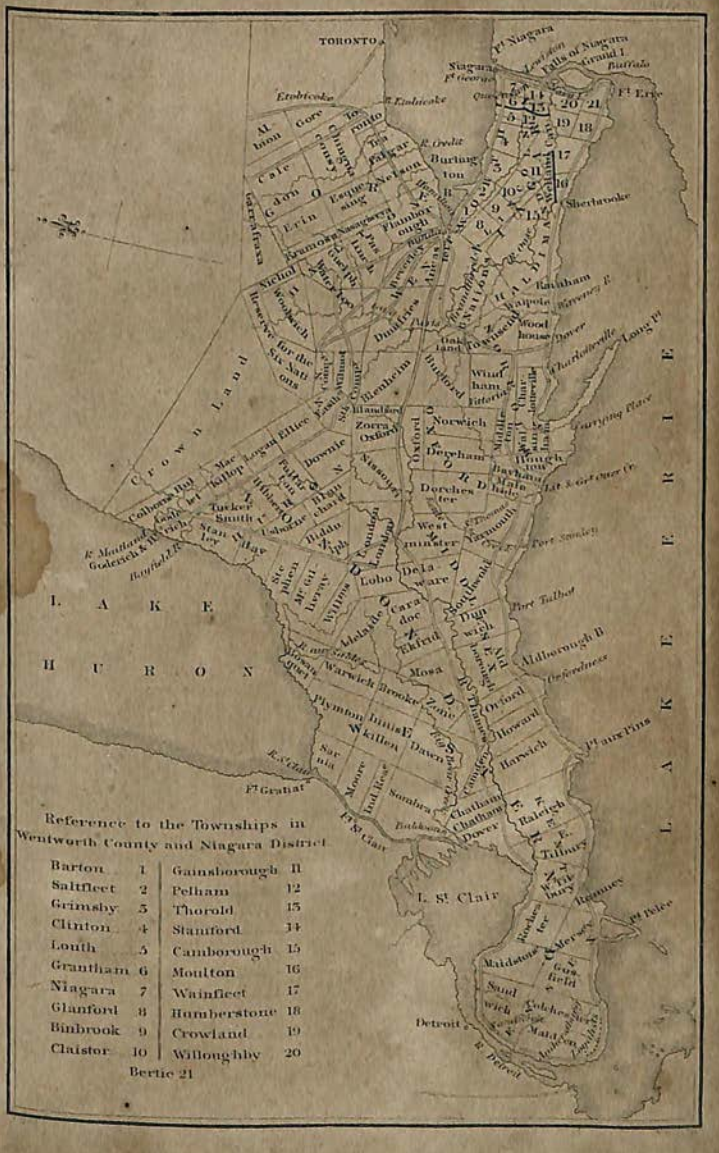
York, which has now assumed the Indian name of Toronto, is the official capital of Upper Canada, the residence of the governor, the seat of the courts of justice, and the place where the Parliament assembles. No town in the province has made so rapid a progress. In 1793 M. Bouchette saw the spot covered with dense and trackless forests, on the border of which stood one solitary wigwam. In 1794 the town was founded, and in a few years attained a considerable magnitude. It remained long inferior to Kingston, and in 1831 was supposed to contain only 4000 inhabitants. The great improvement, however, of the western districts, and the extensive sales of land made there, both by government and the Canada Company, have now rendered it every way the more important place; and by the last accounts its population had risen to 9500. The streets are spacious, and regularly disposed at right angles. Wood, the original material, is in course of being rapidly superseded by brick; and even stone begins to come into use. The public buildings are such as might be expected at a seat of government, and well suited to their object, but none is mentioned as particularly striking. The new college consists of five neat brick buildings, of which the central one, appropriated to instruction, is about eighty feet square, surmounted by an ornamental dome. The residence of a number of civil and military officers gives to the society a considerable degree of polish and elegance. The harbour is formed by a long narrow peninsula, enclosing a circular basin about a mile and a half in diameter, affording spacious and secure accommodation for shipping; but it has the disadvantage of being very defenceless, as was fatally experienced in 1813.

The soil, for a considerable space along the margin of the lake, is arid and sandy, covered with pine-forests; and the township of Whitby, on the borders of Newcastle District, has very rich loam, with a deep vegetable mould, and contains thriving farms. The population, however, is chiefly collected along the road called Yonge Street already described, on each side of which flourishing settlements are formed to a considerable depth, and covered with excellent crops. Newmarket, adjoining Lake Simcoe, appears a considerable place, to which a stage-coach runs regularly from Toronto; and the surrounding country, which is fertile, is laid out in well-cultivated farms. About four miles distant is Hope, a village of sixty or seventy houses, inhabited by a sect professing peculiar tenets, called the Children of Peace, who hold their property almost in common, and are under the entire direction of an individual named David Willson. Near Newmarket is West Guillimbury, whence a steam-vessel makes a weekly trip round the lake, which implies a respectable degree of settlement. Several even of the inland townships to the north and west, notwithstanding their remote situation, have made considerable progress, as will appear by the amount of their population already given.*

The Western Section of Upper Canada, though less extensive than those just described, possesses such advantages of soil, climate, and situation, as renders it fully equal to them in value and importance. It consists of a long irregular peninsula, enclosed by successive portions of the great lake and river chain of Canada. This boundary, beginning with the western shore of Lake Ontario, is continued by the Niagara channel, Lake Erie, the Detroit, Lake and River St Clair, and the southern and part of the eastern shore of Lake Huron. It terminates a little beyond Goderich, whence stretching across to Lake Ontario, it is met by the Home District

* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 464. Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 108, 86-90, Picken, 168. Canadas as they now are, p. 79. Shirreff, p. 106-117.

WESTERN DISTRICTS.



Reference to the Townships in Wentworth County and Niagara District

Barton	1	Gainsborough	11
Saltfleet	2	Pelham	12
Grimsby	3	Thorold	13
Clinton	4	Stamford	14
Louth	5	Canborough	15
Grantham	6	Moulton	16
Niagara	7	Wainfleet	17
Glanford	8	Humberstone	18
Binbrook	9	Crowland	19
Claistor	10	Willoughby	20
Bertie 21			

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and the Indian territory. Its surface is singularly level, scarcely containing any eminence that deserves to be called a hill, except in the ridge already described as running in a circuitous line from the neighbourhood of Toronto to Niagara. Even its heights seldom exceed 100, and never 350 feet. Besides that no part is very distant from the grand line of water-communication, several fine rivers traverse the interior. The most considerable is the Thames, which, rising in the London District, and running westward about 150 miles through a fine country, falls into Lake St Clair. It is navigable for large vessels to Chatham, fifteen miles up, and for boats nearly to its source. Parallel to it on the north, though with a shorter course of not more than 100 miles, is Big Bear Creek, which throws itself into one of the branches of the river St Clair. Next to the Thames in magnitude is the Ouse, rising in the Home District, and flowing in an opposite direction south-east, till by a very serpentine course it reaches Lake Erie. It is navigable for schooners about twenty-five miles above its mouth, and considerably higher for boats. The Welland or Chippeway, nearly parallel to it, runs into the Niagara after a course of only fifty miles; but this river has become important on account of the canal cut from it to Ontario on one side and Erie on the other, which has obviated those obstructions by which the navigation of the Niagara channel is rendered impracticable.

The soil of this extensive tract is almost entirely alluvial, consisting of a black or yellow loam, sometimes mixed with sand, and covered with a thick stratum of vegetable mould. The forests are dense, but not as in other quarters entirely uninterrupted; opening rather, in some places, into wide prairies or expanses of natural meadow. The country has by sanguine writers been described as every where luxuriantly fertile; and though minute surveys have discovered light and sandy tracts of considerable extent, there is perhaps scarcely a spot on the globe which it may not rival. The climate of a country situated between the 42d and 45th parallels,

ought to be that of the south of France; but in consequence of a peculiarity in the American continent, this does not procure an exemption from several months of frost and snow. Still its winter is considerably shorter, and its summer longer than in any other part of Upper Canada.

Such advantages drew the attention of European settlers to this quarter earlier than from its distance might have been expected, and portions of it were brought into cultivation, when the rest of Upper Canada was a wilderness. The French, when forming stations for the fur-trade at its western extremity, were tempted by the fertile banks of the Detroit, between Lakes Erie and St Clair, and established a number of seigniories similar to those on the St Lawrence in Lower Canada. At the end of the great American contest, a number of disbanded troops or banished loyalists, who, in the course of military operations, had become acquainted with the Niagara district, or to whose former residence and habits it was congenial, accepted grants in it. In 1802, Colonel Talbot having formed the plan of a settlement on the most central part of the northern coast of Lake Erie, obtained from government a grant of 100,000 acres, on condition of locating a settler upon every 200; which condition he has successfully fulfilled. From these causes the population in 1817 had attained to the estimated number of 34,227, which in 1824 had risen to 55,200, in 1832, to 101,605, and in 1835, to 124,628. The number of cultivated acres at this latter period was 620,022, of uncultivated, 1,760,820; there were of horned cattle 77,930, and of horses, 18,430.*

This part of Canada is divided into four districts: Gore, London, Niagara, and Western.

Gore District rests on the western shore of Lake Ontario, whence it extends towards Lake Huron and Lake Erie, but without reaching either. It is separated

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 103, 92-96. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 299, 357, 406, 455. Picken, p. 177.

by a very irregular boundary from the Home District and the Indian territory on the north, the London on the west, and Lake Ontario and the Niagara District on the east. The reports as to its soil are not very distinct or harmonious; but it certainly appears to contain a large quantity of good land mixed with sandy tracts, and occasional swamps. Limestone rocks abound; but of every other description of stone there is a great want. The Canada Company, notwithstanding, having made this the chief seat of their operations, and founded in it their principal town of Guelph, have raised it into importance. In 1817 it was estimated to have 8614 inhabitants, which number rose in 1824 to 13,157, in 1832, to 31,820, and in 1835, to 40,156. It possessed then 226,428 cultivated acres, and 511,712 uncultivated; 24,506 horned cattle, and 5287 horses. It is divided into two counties,—Halton and Wentworth,—of which the former, by much the largest, occupies all the northern and most western portion; the latter is only a narrow stripe on the border of Niagara District.

The front townships of this district extending along the lake are Trafalgar, population 2730; Nelson, 1809; and Flamborough, 1398. The soil is generally clay, with a mixture of sand, and, on the whole, without being luxuriant, appears to be generally good. Numerous and rapid streams, many of which are well fitted for mills, cross it and fall into the lake. Dundas Street runs through it; but though the main road of the province, it is very rude, and the provision for passing the numerous currents extremely imperfect. Yet the territory is fast filling up, and the farms are well cultivated; while the dwellings of the inhabitants display much attention to neatness and comfort. Flamborough contains an extensive swamp called Coote's Paradise, from the delight which a keen sportsman of that name found in shooting the numerous wildfowl by which it is frequented. The town of Dundas lies at the western extremity of Burlington Bay and of Lake Ontario. The situation must be very advantageous; and the harbour,

which is yet only in its infancy, may, it is said, be made fit to receive vessels drawing twenty feet of water. The township of Beverley, though in a line with Flamborough, is inland, yet contains 1050 settlers.

The second range of townships bear the uncouth Indian names of Esquesing, with a population of 1700; Nasagiweya, 484; and Paslinch, the inhabitants of which are not reported. The soil presents a large proportion of black sand, though mixed with some clay.

The third line has in its eastern quarter Eramósa, population 421, and Erin, 611. Both are covered to a great extent with the prevailing surface of black sand. In population and importance they are much inferior to those now to be noticed.

Guelph, south-west of Erin, and separated from Lake Ontario by Paslinch and Flamborough, has been chosen by the Canada Company for the site of their chief town in the centre of a block of 40,000 acres. Respecting the quality of this land, in which so many interests are involved, and on which we should have wished to give our readers the most precise information, we are strangely embarrassed by conflicting statements. According to Mr Picken, the Company consider it as excellent; and Bouchette, speaking of it in general terms, says that "it enjoys most of the advantages of the Huron tract in respect of climate and fertility." According to Mr Ferguson also, "its situation and soil are healthy and good." Mr Shirreff, on the contrary, says, "from Galt to Guelph, and in the neighbourhood of the latter, the soil is light, composed of sand or gravel, *bearing inferior crops*, and, judging from the way-sides, calculated to produce excellent pasturage." A gentleman from Aberdeen, writing in October 1834, says, that "the land here is both very poor and very dear." Between such opposite statements, all from quarters respectable though perhaps a little biassed, there seems no choice but to strike somewhat of a medium. Mr Shirreff admits that it is well watered, and that clearing was going on to a considerable extent.

The town of Guelph was founded in 1827 on the Speed, a branch of the Grand River. Great exertions were made to raise it to importance; and according to M. Bouchette, in 1831, it contained 100 houses, and 700 or 800 inhabitants. He anticipates a rapid augmentation, and exhibits a regular plan, according to which its future extension is to proceed. Mr Ferguson, however, who visited it soon after, was struck with its inactive and even desolate appearance; and thinks it doubtful whether it will be able to keep its ground, and escape desertion. The cart appeared to him placed before the horse, in making a town precede instead of follow the rise of a cultivated neighbourhood. We do not, indeed, see how it could be expected, that a large town should rise in the heart of the *bush* without the command of any navigation, while on Burlington Bay there are as yet only villages. Mr Shirreff, two years after, describes it as having about fifty houses, only one of which was of stone. The township in 1833 contained 1068 individuals; three places of worship were however erecting for Christians of different denominations. There is a good inn, and a large grist-mill.

South-west of Guelph is Waterloo, a township settled about twenty years ago by a Dutch party, who have greatly improved it. The soil is a good sandy loam; and the farms, being completely cleared of stumps, in high order, and bearing excellent crops, reminded Mr Ferguson of well-cultivated spots in Britain. They are from 200 to 300 acres in extent, and provided with excellent offices. The settlers, 2320 in number, derived great advantage from the employment afforded to them by the Canada Company during the erection of Guelph.

Dumfries, adjoining to Waterloo, though belonging more strictly to the second line, has the advantage of a rich loamy soil, and consists of 96,000 acres. This township was, in 1815-16, purchased entire by Mr Dickson, who has formed a village, to which he has given the name of Galt, and has erected in it extensive mills. He grants liberal credit, and by making, in some cases,

advances to settlers, has attracted a population of about 2936. A water communication has been opened through the Grand River to the Welland Canal, and a great saving is thus effected in the expense of conveying grain. A few miles from Galt, on the way to Ontario, is Paris, so named from the adjoining quarries of gypsum. This village, lately founded by an enterprising individual, possesses advantages which promise to raise it to some importance. Still farther, in the same direction, is Brandtford, so called in honour of Brandt, the celebrated Mohawk chief. It contains about 600 souls, and is expected to increase, as it lies on the main road to the London and Western Districts; and to facilitate the communication, a bridge is now erected over the river. The country round is fertile, and a considerable number of farms have been purchased or rented from the Indians by European settlers. Adjoining to Waterloo, in the south-west, is Wilmot, where the Canada Company have a large block of land, which they have connected by roads with Guelph and Goderich. It is very fertile, and partly watered by a stream well adapted for mills. The population is 645.

A fourth line of townships consists of Garafraxa, Nichol, and Woolwich, which last contains 439 inhabitants. The first has not yet drawn much attention; but Nichol, comprising 29,000 acres, appears to be one of the finest tracts in Canada. The soil consists of a deep, black, sandy loam, of excellent quality, is generally level, and well watered by numerous streams, including the Grand River, which rises a little beyond its border. At one place it forms picturesque falls, named Ellora, well fitted for mill-machinery, and below which it is navigable for boats. This township has been chosen by Mr Ferguson as the seat of his settlement, where he has purchased an extensive property, a large part of which he cultivates himself, and has disposed of the rest in lots to other emigrants. A considerable number of Scotch farmers, especially from Aberdeenshire, have been attracted to this township. Small villages have sprung up at Fergus

and at the Falls of Ellora. Nichol, in 1833, had only 134 settlers; but the number must now be greatly increased.

Wentworth county comprises only five townships, none of them very extensive; but being either on or near Burlington Bay, they possess great advantages in point of situation. Barton, having a population of 1776, and Saltfleet, 1769, are immediately on the bay; Binbrook, 335, and Glanford, 653, are behind them; Ancaster, with 2267 inhabitants, stands to the west. The soil of the two first is composed of a mixture of sand and clay; the former lies chiefly along the shore, the latter on the heights,—a bold range of which forms the background of Barton, and commands a magnificent view of Lake Ontario. This territory is represented as peculiarly fitted for pasturage, though capable also, under proper management, of yielding full corn crops. The high road from Toronto to Queenston passes through both these townships, and is tolerably good. Hamilton, the county town of Barton, is regularly built, with a very handsome court-house. As to the lands in the rear of Binbrook and Glanford, few particulars are known; but Mr Shirreff, who passed through them on his way to the Grand River, describes the soil all along as clay, of good quality, and well settled. Ancaster, to the west, is said to be a very fertile township, with considerable tracts of cleared land, and having the road to Brandtford and Galt passing through it. In its centre is a straggling village of the same name, delightfully situated.*

Niagara District, eastward of Gore, forms a peninsula enclosed by the bending course of the great water communication. A part of the southern shore of Lake Ontario, the river channel bearing its name, and the northern border of Lake Erie, form its boundaries, except

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 108, 118, 119. Gourlay, vol. ii. pp. 406, 382-389. Tables, 1832, p. 9-11. Picken, p. 179-181. Canadas as they now are, p. 84-88. Ferguson, pp. 126-128, 279-282. Shirreff, p. 159-171. Counsel for Emigrants, p. 89-92.

on the western side, where an arbitrary line separates it from Gore. The Grand River, in part of its course, and the Welland, nearly its whole length, run through this district; and these important facilities for navigation have been greatly improved by the canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario. The soil consists mostly of alluvial clay, mixed often with loam, and sometimes with sand, and is in general very well fitted either for grain or pasturage. From the mildness of its climate, fruits come to higher perfection than in any other part of Canada; its apples and peaches are celebrated; and grapes are successfully cultivated. A considerable portion, however, is rendered unproductive by swamps, the draining of which does not yet enter into the scheme of Canadian husbandry; while, amid the great superabundance of water, that article, in a state fitted either for drinking or for mill-power, is in many places deficient. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, its happy situation led to its early settlement, chiefly by American loyalists; and even in 1817 it was estimated to contain 12,548 inhabitants. Since that period it has more than doubled its population, which had risen in 1824 to 17,552; in 1832 to 24,772; and in 1835 to 28,735. At the latter period, there were 209,763 cultivated acres, 249,212 uncultivated, 18,499 horned cattle, and 5721 horses. The district is divided into two counties, —Lincoln and Haldimand; and the former, which is much the more important, into four ridings; but the townships will be more advantageously considered according to their natural division into three lines; the first bordering on Lake Ontario, the second on Lake Erie, and the third being the intermediate or inland one.

The Ontario townships are, Grimsby, population 1614; Clinton, 1572; Louth, 1157; Grantham, 2454; and Niagara, 3123. This tract possesses all the advantages of the territory, with few of its drawbacks. The soil is generally clay or loam, is well cultivated, has fine farms and rich orchards, is generally free from swamps, and abounds in beautiful scenery. Grimsby is a little town,

agreeably situated on the lake, with an eminence behind it, whence a fine mill-stream issues.

The principal places of this township, however, belong to Niagara. The town of that name, called also Fort-George and Newark, is advantageously situated at the point where the great river-channel opens into Lake Ontario. By this means it has an extensive communication with Toronto and Kingston, and lies on the chief line by which travellers penetrate into the western districts. Being opposite to the territory of the United States, it is exposed in time of war to hostile attack; and in 1813, as we have seen, it was barbarously reduced to ashes. It was, however, speedily rebuilt, and now contains upwards of 1500 inhabitants. The harbour is good, and presents a gay scene from the constant arrival and departure of sloops, barges, and steam-vessels. Two weekly newspapers are published in it. Queenston, about seven miles southward, on the border of the township, is agreeably situated at the foot of a bold line of hills bearing its name, and memorable for the battle in which General Brock fell. Being the county town, it has a court-house and government-stores, with between 400 and 500 inhabitants. Surrounded by a fertile and highly-cultivated country, it has, in its immediate vicinity, the falls of Niagara. St David's is a small village, four miles to the westward, on one of the roads from Toronto to Lake Erie.

The middle and inland range consists of Stamford, population 1493; Thorold, 2052; Pelham, 1106; Gainsborough, 292, and Claistor, 329. All these have the advantage of being traversed by the Welland, or Chippeway, but in other respects they differ greatly. Stamford, the most easterly, has a soil of sand, loam, or clay, the greater part of which is well fitted for grain, pasture, and orchard, and is in a high state of cultivation. It lies on the Niagara, the great falls of which, already described, attract during the season crowds of visiters. At the mouth of the Chippeway is a village bearing the same name, with about 200 inhabitants. Thorold, towards the

west, has a soil of strong clay, generally productive and well cultivated; with the advantage of being traversed by the Welland river and canal. St Catherine's is a rising place, situated on the highest ground between the lakes, and on the main road from Grimsby to Queenston. Pelham, the next, is likewise a good township, though a considerable portion is either broken and hilly, or light and sandy; it is, however, well watered and supplied with mills. The two most western, Gainsborough and Claistor, are extremely wet, and in some places marshy; and being also ill supplied with the means of conveyance, the settlement upon them has been very limited. Two small townships, southward of this line, but not reaching Lake Erie, are Willoughby, population 569, and Crowland, 841. The former, though well situated on the Niagara, has a cold soil of hard clay, and wants good water. The second, on the Welland, has the same disadvantages, though not in an equal degree; Lyon's Creek affords a good situation for a mill.

The line of townships on Lake Erie consists of Bertie, population 2159; Humberstone, 1554; and Wainfleet, 842. The first, with a soil of clay and black loam, being contiguous to the Niagara and Lake Erie, and having good roads, is well settled. At the junction of the lake and river stands Fort Erie, on the opposite side of which are Black Rock and Buffalo, the latter of which has become very flourishing, from being placed at the termination of the Great New York Canal. Humberstone is in part similar, but has a large portion wet, swampy, and even covered by two extensive marshes, called Cranberry and Tamarack. The same description applies also to Wainfleet, which however has the advantage of being crossed by the Welland Canal. The county of Haldimand extends a great way north-west, along the lower course of the Ouse or Grand River. It is included in the great Indian reserve; but this has not prevented part of it from being leased or purchased by Europeans. The larger portion is marshy, and nearly uninhabitable. It forms two townships,—Moulton, of which the popula-

tion is 528 ; and Camborough, the inhabitants of which have not been reported.*

London District is very extensive, resting on the shore of Lake Erie, and stretching thence northwards to the Indian territory. On the east it has Gore and Niagara, on the opposite side Lake Huron and Western District. Besides the portion divided at an early period into counties and districts, there has lately been added the large block of 1,100,000 acres on Lake Huron, purchased by the Canada Company. This last tract is of exuberant and almost unequalled fertility, labouring under no disadvantage, except the great distance either by land or water, by which its productions must be conveyed to market. The old portion is decidedly inferior, and a large tract in the south-east, called the Long Point Country, presents a sandy surface, resembling in some places the desert of Arabia. It does not, however, deter settlers, who, from its being very thinly timbered, find no trouble in the clearing, and succeed in raising one or two crops of tolerably good wheat, though, as it is then quite exhausted, they must change their position. The other parts are much better, being interspersed at least with fertile tracts ; and since the formation of the Welland, Rideau, and Erie Canals, the evils of its remote situation are in a great measure obviated. From its inland districts, roads now lead to Lake Erie, and some of them even approach to Lake Ontario. The settlement of this district was commenced in 1802, along the Erie shore, by Colonel Talbot, who made extraordinary exertions to form roads and invite emigrants ; yet in 1817 its population was only estimated at 8900. But its progress in this respect has since been rapid. In 1824 it had nearly doubled, amounting to 17,539, which in 1832 had advanced to 33,225, and in 1835 to 41,241. There were then 144,270 cultivated acres, and 718,606 uncultivated ; 26,400 horned cattle, and 4963 horses. The province is

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 98-110. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 417-455. Picken, p. 184-187. Canadas as they now are, pp. 83-88, 99.

divided into three counties,—Norfolk, Oxford, and Middlesex, the two first of which compose the eastern portion, and the third the western.

Norfolk contains, on the borders of the lake, the townships of Rainham, Walpole, Woodhouse, Charlotteville, Walsingham, and Houghton, with the peninsular tracts of Turkey Point and Long Point. In the rear it has Middleton, Windham, and Townsend; and, in general, presents the sandy and barren aspect already described. This, however, is less conspicuous in the immediate vicinity of the lake, where there is a good deal of argillaceous soil advantageously situated; but in the interior portions of the district, the defect becomes more apparent. Dover, in the township of Woodhouse, and Charlotteville, near Turkey Point, with Vittoria, five miles north of it, on the road to Ancaster, are the only places in this county that can rank even as villages.

Oxford, northward of the county now described, consists of the townships of Burford, Oakland, Norwich, Dereham, Oxford, Blandford, Blenheim, Nissouri, and Zorra. It is entirely inland, but watered by the upper part of the Thames, here indeed scarcely navigable; it is traversed from east to west by Dundas Street, the main road from Toronto, which opens a communication with Lake Ontario. The soil is described generally, in very favourable terms, as consisting of fertile loam, intermixed with sand or clay. It has accordingly attracted a considerable proportion of settlers, several of whom, from Scotland, have made purchases in Blenheim and Zorra, of which good accounts are transmitted. Oxford, the county town, is situated on the Thames, near the western border.

Middlesex, the remaining county, divides itself naturally into two parts, the townships on Lake Erie, and those on the Thames. The former are Bayham, Malahide, Yarmouth, Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. This is the settlement formed by Colonel Talbot, who, in addition to its natural advantage of bordering on the lake, has, as already mentioned, formed a road, and

established a numerous body of colonists. The soil is loam and clay, and generally excellent; an opinion from which Mr Shirreff somewhat dissents, in regard at least to the small portion that came under his view. The occupiers are described as not rich, and labouring under great difficulties, owing to their distance from market; but these will be much diminished by the opening of the new canals. The colonel's residence is in Dunwich, on an eminence above the lake, surrounded by a garden and a considerable extent of cleared ground. The best harbour is Port Stanley, at the mouth of Kettle Creek, in Yarmouth district; and a little way inland, is St Thomas, which in three years has increased from thirteen to fifty houses, and contains three good inns.

The interior part of this county, on the river Thames, consists of the townships of London, Dorchester, Delaware, Westminster, Lobo, Caradoc, Ekfrid, and Mosa. The surface is gently undulating, and the soil in general favourably reported; though Mr Shirreff considers it decidedly inferior to the Huron tract, and also to that on the Lower Thames in Western District. That river, in passing through it, is navigable only for boats, and the productions conveyed to its mouth must afterwards be transported through the Lakes St Clair and Erie, which forms a very circuitous outlet. A considerable number of settlers have, however, been attracted thither, consisting partly of slaves and people of colour from the United States, to whom of late many emigrants have been added. The township of London, which in 1817 contained only two families, includes now the county town, which has even been contemplated as the future capital of this part of Canada. In fact, it is rapidly rising into importance, having a handsome court-house, four large hotels, well-filled stores, and many houses in progress. Delaware, farther down the river, is only a village of seven or eight houses.

The Huron tract consists of an extensive territory on the eastern shores of the lake of that name, and immediately northward of the original part of London Dis-

trict. The surface is level, and the soil is admitted on all hands to be of almost unrivalled fertility, being fine clay under a covering of black vegetable mould. The tract has been surveyed and divided into the townships of Colborne, Hullett, M'Killop, Logan, Ellice, North and South Easthope, Downie, Fullarton, Hibbert, Tucker-Smith, Biddulph, Stephen, Usborne, Blanchard, Bosanquet, Williams, M'Gillivray, Stanley, Hay, and Goderich. The last of these places, and the route thither, form the only quarter in which any material settlement has yet been effected.

The town of Goderich is situated on an eminence above the lake, at the point where it receives a considerable river named the Maitland. The Company have planned it on a very extensive scale, as the future capital of the district, and a place of rising importance. Mr Shirreff, however, the latest visitant, represents it as still composed only of about forty mean wooden houses, scattered irregularly over a considerable space. The harbour, which had been represented as fitted for vessels of 200 tons, would admit none, he conceived, except those of the smallest dimensions; and the river, where it enters the lake, could not, in the end of August, float a canoe. The original settlers, who were very poor, and of indifferent character, had all been removed except one, and their place supplied by a better class of occupants.*

Western District, which concludes our description of Upper Canada, forms a peninsula, a counterpart as it were of that of Niagara, though on a larger scale. It is similarly enclosed between Lake Erie, the Lake and River St Clair, and the southern coast of Lake Huron. Besides these extensive waters, it is traversed by the lower course of the Thames, navigable for schooners fifteen miles up, and by a smaller stream called Big Bear Creek. The surface is level, and even low, and the soil, to a great extent, of most luxuriant fer-

* Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 357. Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 108, 117. Picken, p. 192-196. Canadas as they now are, p. 94-99. Shirreff, pp. 172, 181, 189.

tility. This is particularly conspicuous on the upper part of the two streams just mentioned; for as they approach their estuary in Lake St Clair, their banks become what the Americans call prairie, or moist meadow-land, destitute of trees, and covered with long rich grass, but scarcely fitted for grain. Cultivation might here be greatly extended by draining, but it seems doubtful whether the return would yet pay the expense. The fine soil and climate early attracted a party of French habitans, who settled on the banks of the Detroit; and after the American war, a body of exiled loyalists was located behind them. This pre-occupation of the most desirable spots, added to the inconvenience of distance, has prevented it from attracting recent immigrants, and from attaining a population proportioned to its natural advantages. As the early settlers are little imbued with the spirit of modern enterprise, and content with a bare subsistence, the country wears, on the whole, an unimproved appearance. It must soon receive an impulse, however, from the new communication by canals and steam-vessels; and the Canada Company have undertaken the settlement of considerable districts. Indeed, the progress already made is by no means inconsiderable. In 1817 Mr Gourlay reckoned the population at 4158; in 1824 it had risen to 6952; in 1832 to 11,788; and in 1835 to 14,496. At the last date it contained 39,561 cultivated, and 281,290 uncultivated acres; 8525 horned cattle, and 2459 horses. It is divided into two counties,—Kent and Essex. As to the townships, we possess not the minute details afforded by the official reports on the other districts; but Mr Shirreff's careful survey will in a great measure supply this want.

Kent contains fourteen townships, of which Orford, Howard, Harwich, Raleigh, Tilbury East, and Romney, are situated between Lake Erie and the Thames; Dover, East and West, Chatham, Camden, and Zone lie to the northward of that river, and along Bear Creek; Adelaide, Warwick, Brooke, Plymton, Inniskillen, Moore, St Clair, Dawn, and Sombra, reach from the

latter to Lake Huron. The soil on the Thames round Chatham is a heavy loam, compounded of strong clay and sand, and of the very finest quality. That on Bear Creek is nearly as good; and large tracts of the richest land may still be purchased at a very moderate price. The want of fall and the defective machinery in the mills, still deteriorate the quality of the flour. To the northwards, is a large extent of crown lands, till lately unoccupied. In 1832, when 35,000 emigrants arrived in Upper Canada, for whom employment could not be found, Sir John Colborne laid out the townships of Adelaide and Warwick, which were quickly colonized. To these have since been added, Brooke, Inniskillen, Plymton, and Moore. Chatham in a twelvemonth had increased from five or six to nearly twenty houses; and there is every likelihood of its continuing to prosper, as steam-vessels can ascend to it. On the lower part of the Thames, as it approaches the lake, the ground becomes exceedingly moist, and is also to a considerable extent rather poor. Southward is a large prairie, still uncultivated, but yielding rich pasturage on its margin; and the townships between the Thames and Lake Erie are described as generally very fertile, having a soil similar to that round Chatham. Point aux Pins, or Landguard, in the township of Harwich, lies on a bay with good anchorage, and forms a centre where different roads meet.

The county of Essex, the most western part of the district, is a peninsula, enclosed between Lake St Clair, Detroit Channel, and Lake Erie. On the margin of the latter it has the townships of Mersey, Gosfield, Colchester, Malden; and on St Clair are West Tilbury, Rochester, Maidstone, Sandwich. This last and Malden are bounded on the west by the Detroit, on the banks of which is the Huron reserve. The soil of the county is variable, but includes much rich land, consisting of black loam on a clay bottom, fitted for the cultivation of hemp and tobacco, the growth of which last has been greatly extended. The original settlers, as already observed, on the first line along Detroit and St Clair, were French colonists; behind them were American loyalists; and a

considerable number of negroes from the States have more recently found refuge there. According to Mr Shirreff, the townships of Tilbury and Mersey are composed of alternate clay and sand, with a preponderance of the lighter substance. Gosfield is distinguished from all the rest by an undulating surface, and a gravelly soil, not of the first quality. Here Messrs Calhoun and Field have established a rude but extensive iron-work, from a productive species of bog-ore. It is expected to consume annually the coke from 200 acres of forest, and in return for this substance they undertake to clear any neighbouring proprietor's ground. Colchester and Malden are for the most part sand alternating with thin clay; but the soil of the latter, in approaching Amherstburg, is of very fine quality. A mile beyond that place, the Huron reserve stretches seven miles along the Detroit, and the same distance inland. To the extent of four miles the banks are about twenty feet high, of rich clay, and extremely beautiful. The Indians do not now exceed ten or twelve families, who profess Christianity, cultivate orchards, and rear large herds of fine cattle. The British government have purchased some part of this reserve, and it is said they are desirous of possessing the whole. The more northern portion, which sinks to the level of the river, is swampy, and overgrown with aquatic plants. The soil continues inferior till beyond Sandwich, when it again becomes fertile; and it is occupied by French settlers in their usual style, in long narrow stripes, facing the water, and completely cleared of wood. In the approach to Lake St Clair, the ground is once more low and swampy, but contains some tolerable soil intermixed with prairie. M. Bouchette anticipates its speedy settlement; but this, according to Mr Shirreff, has as yet taken place only to a very inconsiderable extent.

Amherstburg, near the junction of the Detroit with Lake Erie, is the principal town in this part of Canada; and its situation is allowed to be equal to any in the world for picturesque beauty. This distinction is produced, not by the usual objects which constitute magni-

ficent scenery, but by the wide expanse of clear and pellucid waters surrounding it, the rich brilliancy of the vegetation, and the profusion of fine orchards, of which almost every inhabitant has one. The town, according to Bouchette, contains about 200 dwellings, and 1200 inhabitants. It is said to be regularly built, but the houses, with a few exceptions, are only of wood, and not very handsome. The military works and dockyard were demolished in 1813, but have been partly restored. Fort Malden, about half a mile distant, is of very little consequence. The trade of Amherstburg is not at present progressive; but as vessels of any magnitude can touch at its pier, it must, at no distant period, derive benefit from the extension of settlement and steam navigation. Sandwich, fourteen miles higher up the stream, contains 140 or 150 houses, and enjoys some importance as the county town. It consists of an irregular street running along the beach, mostly inhabited by French. The trade is more limited than that of Amherstburg, and equally stationary. About a mile and a half above, however, is the ferry where there are fifteen or twenty houses, the number of which is increasing; and on the opposite bank, belonging to the United States, is the town of Detroit, which is considerably larger than any on the British side of the river.*

The following is a summary of the statistics of this interesting province, brought down to 1835:—

Districts.	Population.	Acres cultivated.	Acres uncultivated.	Assessment of 1d. per pound on property.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Grist Mills.	Saw Mills.
				£				
Johnstown	29,119	70,645¾	355,671¼	1690·10	5148	13,119	19	36
Eastern..	28,504	82,813	331,134	1490·13	3924	16,338	30	46
Ottawa..	7,044	16,354¼	110,288¾	443·10	748	3,525	6	16
Bathurst.	22,693	57,397	353,362	810·14	1541	12,459	26	28
Midland..	46,685	187,338	358,214	3113·14	8550	24,535	47	111
Newcastle	30,245	94,419	434,526	1559·17	3339	15,367	26	76
Home....	47,543	179,518	690,753	2465·12	6049	28,732	51	150
Gore.....	40,156	226,428	511,772	2197· 6	5287	24,506	35	113
Niagara..	28,735	209,763	249,212	2210·16	5721	18,499	30	93
London..	41,241	144,270	718,606	3083·17	4963	26,400	45	100
Western..	14,496	39,561	281,290	922·	2459	8,525	13	12
Total..	336,461	1,308,307¼	4,394,169	20,207· 9	47,729	192,005	328	789

* Bouchette, p. 105-108. Tables, 1832, p. 9-11. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 299. Shirreff, p. 192-216.

CHAPTER VII.

Agriculture of Canada.

Local Peculiarities—The Climate—The unbroken Forest—Mode of Clearing—Ashes—Soil indicated by the Timber—First Crops—Wheat—Other Grains—Grasses, Flax, Hemp, Tobacco—Live Stock, Quality and Treatment—Horticulture—Floriculture—Maple Sugar—Agricultural Processes—Hunting and Shooting—Fishery.

In Canada, as in all other new countries, especially when blessed with a fertile soil, agriculture is the most important branch of human labour. Here the industry of man, seconded by the powers of nature, produces, with much less of exertion and of costly machinery, a far higher amount of desirable and useful commodities, than when, as in the department of the mechanical arts, he works alone. Even the United States, though they have made greater progress in wealth and population than the British colonies, have in vain attempted, by the most impolitic prohibitions, to become a manufacturing nation, and to render themselves independent of foreign supply. Though we do not, in this work, undertake to instruct the emigrant in the general principles of agriculture, we may nevertheless confer a favour upon him, by pointing out certain peculiarities connected with the practice of it in the Canadian provinces.

The climate is one particular by which its operations must be greatly modified. It differs, as formerly observed, in having much longer and severer winters, and on the other hand, much hotter summers, than are known in Britain or France. The extraordinary warmth of the latter season, notwithstanding its short duration, is sufficient to ripen the most valuable grains, including even

Indian corn and other species which cannot be brought to maturity in England. On the other hand, the great length of the winter involves the farmer in much inconvenience. He is obliged to crowd into the space of six, or at most seven months, all the operations which, with us, can be continued almost without interruption throughout the year. While he is condemned, during one season, to unwelcome indolence, in the next his various labours follow each other with harassing rapidity. He must employ a greater number of servants; and it is a serious disadvantage that the cattle employed on the farm must be provided with good housing, and a large stock of food during the long winter. These are difficult arrangements for new settlers; and if, as too often happens, they are not duly attended to, the animals either perish, or are reduced to a very weak condition.

Another weighty obstacle to be encountered by the colonist in this territory arises from the vast forest with which almost the whole of it is covered. On taking possession, he does not find a spot on which a crop of any description can be raised, or where even a sheep could feed. To level with the ground, and root out myriads of trees that have stood for ages, seems a task beyond human power; and no instrument or process has yet been found efficacious, except the axe applied successively to each. At first, attempts were made to grub up the trees, and clear the surface at once. This labour, however, was found very great, and utterly useless, even breaking up the soil in an injurious manner. The established plan, therefore, now is, after removing the brushwood, to cut round the trunk, at a few feet from the ground, till it shakes and falls with a tremendous crash. When this takes place, the axeman must make his escape with the utmost agility, otherwise he may sustain a serious accident; and many settlers, in their first operations, have met with such. When the tree is thus brought to the ground, the branches must be separated from it, and the trunk cut into logs of ten or twelve feet in length; and after the wood of two

or three acres has been reduced to this state, a day is fixed for consuming it, when the whole being drawn by oxen into huge piles, is soon reduced to ashes by the application of fire. The neighbours, when called upon, usually assist on this occasion, which is called "a logging bee."

The visiter from England, who has been accustomed to regard rows or clumps of trees as both agreeable and highly ornamental, sees with surprise how completely they have been swept away from the inhabited spots in Canada. The French on their grounds have not left one; and though the English immigrants find difficulty in clearing as much as they could wish, all the land near their houses is completely denuded. The axe of the chopper levels all before him. "Man appears to contend with the trees of the forest as though they were his most obnoxious enemies, for he spares neither the young sapling in its greenness nor the ancient trunk in its lofty pride; he wages war against the forest with fire and steel." Besides the settler's aversion to objects that so much obstruct his operations, there are serious objections to allowing them to remain singly or in rows. The trees stand so thick together, that neither their roots nor branches have had room to spread. They accordingly shoot up to a great height, with little hold in the earth, and with scarcely any foliage, so that when left single they are neither beautiful, nor able to withstand the violent gusts of wind to which the country is subject; hence their sudden fall might be attended with much injury. As, however, a considerable quantity of timber must be preserved for fuel and other purposes, attention might be paid to dispose it in groves or little clumps in a picturesque and agreeable manner. The trees which should be preserved are maple for making sugar; beech and white ash for firewood; oak, cedar, and hemlock spruce for fences; and other hard kinds for ashes, from which soap may be made.*

* Evans' Emigrant's Guide (12mo, Dublin, 1833), pp. 88, 92, 93.

A lighter mode of clearing, strongly recommended by Mr Pickering, especially where the trees stand at some distance from each other, is girdling. According to this method, rings are cut round the trunk, completely through the bark, so as to prevent the rising of the sap, in consequence of which they gradually wither. In a few years they begin to fall, and after six or seven can be easily removed. Meantime the under brushwood may be cut or burnt, and crops raised between the trees. A great deal of labour is thus saved at the beginning; yet the practice is not generally approved, at least where the forest is at all dense. Light and air are thus intercepted; the falling trees are found to injure both animals and fences, and the final clearing is rendered more tedious.

Several writers recommend the manufacture of ashes from the burnt wood as an important article of commerce. The hard species are the most productive. Beech is reckoned the best, and hickory, elm, oak, and maple, stand next in the scale of value. The ashes must be kept under cover and dry till they can be sent to the manufactory; for the settler, amid his numerous avocations, could scarcely undertake to work them up himself. Mr Gould reckons that an acre should yield on the average 10 cwt. worth from 12s. 6d. to 15s. the cwt. Could this be depended upon, clearing, instead of being a heavy burden, would be a most profitable occupation; but the estimate, which we suspect to have been from the first too flattering, is admitted to be no longer applicable. It is now found that soda and other salts can by chemical improvements be made to answer the purposes of wood-ashes in bleaching, glass-making, and other processes; and as these can be produced at a low rate, the latter, in order to find a market, must accommodate itself to the diminished value. Mr Magrath states the price at from fourpence to sixpence the bushel, and was

Backwoods of Canada (18mo, London, 1836), pp. 192, 292. Magrath's Letters, p. 157-160. Gould's Practical Advice to Emigrants (London, 1834), p. 61.

informed that the average produce ought to be about sixty bushels. This conclusion, he adds, was not confirmed by his own experience, but he imputes the failure to his land being lightly timbered. As however, notwithstanding the vast clearing which has recently taken place in Upper Canada, there has been no increase in the exportation of this article, it would appear that the asheries have not extended themselves to the new districts. As a proof of this, we do not generally find them considered as a resource for the new colonist, or capable of being turned to any account but for making soap, or being used as manure. It seems advisable for the settler, however, to make inquiry into this subject; for such a manufacture, it is obvious, would raise the value of well-wooded land.

Where a property, in course of being cleared, can communicate by water-carriage with any town or large village, the timber fit for building, or even for fuel, acquires a considerable value. Even in the bush, if there be a saw-mill in the neighbourhood, logs are taken in exchange for planks, which are necessary for the construction of comfortable houses.*

Canadian writers generally consider that the quality of the soil is made known by the trees which grow upon it; and the best indication is said to be afforded by the species which go under the general appellation of hardwood, or those which shed their leaves during the winter. We find enumerated, maple, basswood, elm, black walnut, hickory, butternut, iron-wood, hemlock, with a large species of nettle. A mixture of beech is considered good; but the land on which it is the sole tree is generally light. Oak is the most uncertain, being found on a good bottom, as well as on that of a sandy description. On the other hand, soft wood, bearing evergreen leaves, and consisting chiefly of fir and other pine species, is said to give decided intimation of a very

* Pickering's Guide to Emigrants, p. 159. Magrath, pp. 163, 164. Gould, p. 62-64. Backwoods, p. 292. Shirreff, p. 370.

light soil. The larch or tamarack, on wide flat plains, indicates sand upon a substratum of marly clay, which, when drained, is extremely good; but this operation is in general too laborious for the immigrant. The French Canadians, we are informed, hold this species of land as one of the best. Mr Evans considers a surface where all these trees are mingled together as very valuable, and likely to be fitted for every kind of produce. Yet these inferences, which seem to be founded on just observation, are disputed by Mr Shirreff, who denies that any indication whatever can be drawn from the qualities of the timber. As, however, he stands completely alone, and was not long resident in the country, we incline to think he must be mistaken; but, on a point so very momentous, we concur with him in advising the purchaser to superadd a diligent examination with the spade, both of the soil and subsoil.

After the trees, with the exception of the stumps, have been cleared from the ground, no farther preparation is necessary for putting in a crop. The seed requires only to be scattered on the surface, and a harrow drawn over it; and wheat is the grain most usually committed to such virgin soil. Very flattering reports have been made as to the produce which may be expected in such circumstances, and which has been estimated at forty or fifty bushels, or even more. This however is now generally admitted to be an exaggeration. Considering that nearly one-fourth of the land is still occupied by stumps, that the growing corn does not enjoy the full benefit of light and air, and is often liable to smut, Mr Shirreff conceives that it will not exceed eighteen bushels an acre. The reports also of the soil continuing to bear the most valuable crops for a series of years without intermission, appear to be realized only under very peculiar circumstances. According to Mr Talbot, a good second crop, though not equal to the first, may be obtained with the aid merely of the harrow; but after this, corn is not in general raised without the use of the plough. As, however, the stumps cannot be removed

for seven or eight years, the prevailing practice in Upper Canada, till that process has been accomplished, is to lay the field down in grass; and this plan is recommended by good authorities. It may even be necessary for the settler, who can command only his own personal labour, and has still large portions to clear: but, in the case of one who can afford to hire servants, it appears an unprofitable system; for it confines him to the rearing of sheep and cattle, the least advantageous branch of Canadian husbandry. Several writers, indeed, represent it as impossible to carry on any other, while such obstructions remain; but others, better and longer acquainted with the country, assure us, that these oppose no very serious obstacles to culture, the plough being able with little difficulty to pass between them, as they are usually at least twenty feet distant from each other. This plan has also the advantage, that by the loose state in which it keeps the ground, the stumps may be rooted out sooner than from the more compact surface of a grass field. When their removal is effected, the plough can move, though not without some attention, over the whole, and the ground is then considered in a state of regular cultivation.*

The ground having been thus cleared of timber, the question arises, what crops can be most advantageously raised upon it. Soil and climate are the two particulars which nature places in the hand of the agriculturist, and according to which his operations must be modified. The soil of the upper, and of all the settled part of the lower province, may rank with the most favoured on the globe. The absence of mountain and rock, on such a scale as to interfere with cultivation, scarcely exists elsewhere over a similar extent of country. Light and sandy soils or swamps almost alone interrupt the general fertility; and these, from the detailed local survey already taken, will appear not to be very extensive, and perhaps in few

* Evans, pp. 73, 95. Magrath, pp. 88, 89. Backwoods, pp. 194, 195. Shirreff, p. 370. Talbot's Five Years' Residence in the Canadas (2 vols 8vo, London, 1824), vol. ii. p. 200-202.

cases wholly irreclaimable. It is calculated that there is a greater proportion of wheat soil in the Canadas than in England; and that, if this valuable grain were cultivated in the latter country in the same defective manner as in these provinces, it could not be of much value.

Climate, which forms the other important particular, wears at first view a less favourable aspect. A region which, for several months, and in some districts for more than half the year, remains buried in frost and snow, may well be supposed unfriendly to vegetation. As already observed, however, the strong steady heat of summer counteracts almost completely this chilling influence, and matures with surprising rapidity the most valuable plants. Mr Evans has had wheat in ear nine weeks after it was sown. Even the violent alternations of frost and thaw, of snow and rain, instead of injuring vegetation, are found to pulverize and soften the soil, and thus render it more fertile with less culture. The great steadiness of the summer weather exempts plants from sundry vicissitudes which they undergo in a more changeable climate. From these causes, the *annuals* suited to a temperate region grow in Canada to full perfection; and as these include the grains fitted for bread, the food most essential to man, she has little cause to envy any other country.

In regard to wheat, indeed, the chief of those vegetables, this observation must be somewhat restricted. Its plants are so far biennial, that to acquire the very first quality they must be sown during the preceding autumn. Yet this course has not been found safe in Lower Canada, where wheat must be treated as an annual, sown in spring, and reaped before the end of the year. The defect is owing, not to the rigour of the winter, still less to the depth of snow, which, on the contrary, is found to protect and cherish vegetable growth, but is ascribed to severe frosts, violent and chilling rains, occurring after the snow has left the ground, and the plants have made some progress. An opinion is entertained, that with good management, hitherto much wanting, autumn wheat

might be raised with success. The British American Land Company have decidedly adopted this idea, and some successful experiments have been made. Mr Evans, however, is of opinion that from the above causes, unless in some favoured situations, it must always be an unsafe crop, and peculiarly liable to disease. He had once autumn and spring wheats growing on the same field, when although the first was completely ruined by rust and mildew, the other proved excellent. He seems to apprehend, therefore, that Lower Canada must be content with her good spring growth. It is said, however, to require a soil more minutely pulverized; while the grain produced contains a greater proportion of gluten, and is thus harder and more difficult to grind. In Upper Canada, autumn wheat is raised without difficulty.

Barley is well suited to the climate, and on well-prepared soils the produce is found very little inferior to that in England. The square or four-rowed species is generally cultivated, as the most productive, and not objected to by the brewer, though the two-rowed or long-eared brings a higher price, and has been partially introduced. Oats have not hitherto been prosperous in either of the Canadas, as the intense heat of summer is apt to dry the panicles, which then do not convey sufficient nourishment to the ears. It is alleged, however, that by early sowing and other precautions the evil might be obviated. This grain in fact has been much neglected and underrated. Rye, so much a favourite in the north of Europe, is cultivated here, but only for the distilleries.

Maize or Indian corn, the only important farinaceous plant peculiar to the new world, is the tallest, and yields the largest bulk of all this description of plants. The grain, though very productive, affording from 30 to 70 bushels an acre, is too soft and deficient in gluten to make good bread without a large admixture of wheat. It is relished, however, in various forms of pudding or pottage; and for feeding cattle and poultry seems superior to any other corn. Its range in America is very extensive, since, being an annual, it is unaffected by the cold of

winter. Yet a strong heat of considerable duration is required, the absence of which in a great part of Canada renders this crop very precarious. If cold or wet weather occur soon after sowing, the seed is liable to rot; while, as the harvesting does not take place till the end of September, the crop suffers often from premature frosts. Mr Evans considers it as unsafe beyond lat. 45° N., which excludes most of Lower Canada; while Mr Shirreff restricts it within lat. 41½°, scarcely allowing it to go north of Lake Ontario. At Peterborough it had failed for several consecutive years. Where successful, it is considered excellently fitted for new lands, and also as a preparation for wheat. It is planted in rows to admit of horse-hoeing, and in Upper Canada pumpkins are advantageously raised in the intervals.

Of leguminous plants, pease are perhaps the most valuable, and are well suited to the climate of Canada, where they form generally a secure crop. Wet weather during harvest, which is peculiarly unfavourable to them, seldom occurs there. The flesh of hogs is delicate and of better flavour when fed upon pease than upon any other grain; and from their use the pork of these provinces is considered superior to that of the United States. Tares are cultivated as an excellent food for horses and cattle; and their extension is recommended. Beans are not grown; but for this omission no sufficient reason has been assigned.

Among roots, the potato takes the precedence, and its value is too well known to require comment. Though a native of America, it was for a long time not very extensively cultivated, at least in Upper Canada; but its importance has now been appreciated by European settlers. Besides its value for human use, this vegetable affords in the same bulk more food for cattle, and is more easily guarded against the cold of winter, than most others, which generally require a root-house or cellar to preserve them; while potatoes may be kept in a pit five feet deep, dug in dry earth. They should be planted by the end of May, so as to attain some strength before the

intense summer heats, and to be ripe before the setting in of the autumnal frosts. Turnips, which require a cool, moist, and temperate climate, have not been found well suited to Canada. Carrots are beginning to be introduced, and are strongly recommended as hardy, nutritive, and not very liable to suffer from cold.

Grass, both natural and artificial, forms a most important article of farming produce. Canada has not the fine natural pastures of Ireland, England, Holland, and other countries enjoying a cool, moist, and equable climate. The settlers, too, in general, as soon as they have cleared away the wood, are eager to break up the ground and raise a crop. It is alleged, however, that this system has been carried too far, there being many meadows, uplands, and other well-watered tracts, which might very advantageously be appropriated to pasturage. Artificial grasses, now a most valuable branch of British husbandry, are peculiarly important in Canada, where so large a quantity of hay should be stored for winter use. They are also most useful in preparing the soil for grain crops, but have the disadvantage of requiring to stand the severe winter, so trying to all except annual plants. Clover, which is supposed to yield three times the produce of natural grass, grows luxuriantly; but in the second year its roots are often found to have been destroyed by frost. For this reason it is necessary to have recourse to the species named timothy, which is extremely hardy, and will set at defiance even a Canadian winter. The course recommended is to plant it in spring along with clover, which last may be expected to yield a good crop the first year; and if it fails in the second, the other will supply its place.*

Among miscellaneous articles, flax is well fitted to the climate, and a small quantity is grown upon almost every farm for domestic use; but it has not yet become

* Evans (William), Treatise on Agriculture (8vo, Montreal, 1835). pp. 33-94, 175, 222. Talbot, vol. i. p. 304. Pickering, p. 83-96. Gould, p. 67. Shirreff, p. 368. Backwoods, pp. 188, 189.

an article of exportation. It is dark coloured, and rather liable to break. Mr Talbot imputes these faults to the small quantity of seed, being only two bushels per acre, while double that amount is used in Ireland. Hemp has been sown with advantage, particularly in the heavy soil of the Western District; but, though considerable expectations have been formed, it has not as yet any where risen to much importance. It seems admitted, that considerable loans from government are necessary to provide the machinery indispensable to its success; and moreover that, without a protecting duty, the farmer could not compete with the importations from Russia. Tobacco is planted in the same district, and has also been made the object of flattering hopes. In quality it is inferior to that of the southern states of the Union,—a circumstance which some ascribe to imperfect culture, but others think a warmer climate necessary for raising it in perfection. The produce, nevertheless, has of late years been considerably augmented.

The rearing of live stock, an important branch of rural economy, is still in a backward state in Canada. The length and severity of winter produce a necessity for dry food and shelter during that season; but the providing of this, in the actual circumstances of the colonists, is attended with difficulties, which they by no means make sufficient exertions to overcome. The horses are small, not standing above twelve hands high, and are at the same time clumsy and thick shouldered. Yet they possess good qualities, are active, fleet, and sure-footed, and in these respects have been compared to the Scottish galloway, though they are not equally fit for heavy and continued labour. Proposals have been made to introduce improved breeds, but this would probably avail little, till accompanied by a more careful management. The cows are also about a third smaller than the English. They are still worse treated, having scarcely any shelter and very little food during the winter, at the end of which they are in a miserable state, and many perish. A complaint called the hollow-horn, arising from the juices of that

substance being congealed by the excessive cold, proves generally fatal; yet those which survive, on coming to grass, quickly recover, and give abundance of milk. The labouring oxen are for the most part procured from the United States. The sheep are extremely small, weighing, it is said, not more than fifty pounds, and their fleece about two and a half. They suffer, not only from the rigour of winter, but from the violence of the heat in summer, and are also exposed to the ravages of wild beasts. The wool, however, is rather fine, owing perhaps to the cold, from which nature usually protects animals by a richer covering. Some of the hilly tracts in the Western District, where the climate is milder, have been pointed out as well fitted for supporting an improved breed of this animal. The hog alone does something to compensate the general deficiency of the animal creation, for though not large, its flesh is excellent, and forms the staple dish at every Canadian table. It finds nourishment amid the woods and pastures, always in summer, and often during winter; though some grain ought to be given in the latter season, as well as when it is to be fattened. Since the great depression in the price of wheat, salted pork has been considered the most profitable article which a farmer can raise. It may be observed, that the Eastern Townships, notwithstanding their severer climate, possess decidedly superior breeds of cattle. This seems partly owing to the variety of surface, and the numerous streams with which this region is watered; and partly, it must be owned, to the character of the settlers, who have come chiefly from the neighbouring territory of the United States, and have introduced a more active and efficient mode of managing this branch of husbandry. The recent cattle shows at Sherbrooke, and other places in the same district, are said to have displayed specimens that would do honour to similar exhibitions in England.

It may be proper here to forewarn the settler with regard to an inconvenience that attends the keeping of live

stock in the ruder districts. As the fences are often slight, hastily put up, and meant to enclose a great extent of ground, spirited animals find little difficulty in clearing such barriers, and plunge into the woods, where all traces of them disappear. Without great care, the farmer will find a good deal of his time lost in this harassing pursuit. Mention is made of a female cultivator, who almost every week mounted her pony, and sallied into the bush in search of stray cattle; and sometimes a day or two elapsed before she and they returned. The author of the "Backwoods" notices a remarkable case of two newly purchased oxen which were missing for some time, and considered finally lost, when it was found that they had made their way, across twenty miles of trackless forest, to their former quarters. Mr Ferguson mentions a Highland settler in Nichol, who said to him,—"I went out one evening to fetch in the cows, and it was two days before I could find my own way back." *Breachy* cattle, or those inclined to such excursions, often involve the proprietor in much trouble, when they break into and injure the neighbouring plantations, causing complaints and claims for damages. The best remedy is said to be a daily distribution of salt, which promotes their thriving, and is so grateful to them that they seldom fail to repair to the spot where it is usually given.*

Horticulture is an elegant art, for which the Canadians have not yet found leisure. It has been observed, that farmers are usually bad gardeners; and in that new country, where, during the season, so much work urgently presses, they can scarcely find time for ornamental objects. The only garden which has attracted any notice in Upper Canada is Colonel Talbot's; and Mr Shirreff did not consider that, tried by an English standard, it would rank high, though containing some fine and well-managed trees. It appears, however, that when the

* Talbot, pp. 304-310, 176-178. Shirreff, p. 369. Backwoods, pp. 134, 194, 195. Magrath, p. 142. Ferguson's Second Journey, p. 27.

Canadians shall apply to this branch of husbandry, they will find excellent materials. Fruits, in particular, are observed to thrive, and the extremes of temperature extend the choice to those of different climates. The apple raised in the vicinity of Montreal now rivals that of New York. In the western districts, melons of large size and exquisite flavour, pomegranates, gourds, and cucumbers, are produced abundantly at the expense of very little labour. Strawberries of different species, raspberries, gooseberries, currants, cherries, and even grapes, grow wild, and are found on the road-side or in sheltered fields. An author already quoted mentions two islands in an adjoining lake, one of which was called Strawberry, the other Raspberry. Cranberries are collected in large quantities by the Indian women, and sold in baskets to the settlers, who make use of them for pies and preserves. Culinary vegetables seem also to thrive extremely well; and, notwithstanding the late season of sowing, the summer heat brings them rapidly to maturity. Among the best are said to be pease, especially the marrowfats; and different species of lettuce, radishes, carrots, parsnips, and other roots, grow to an astonishing size. Vegetables are preserved through the winter in cellars, or more successfully in houses built close, with double log-walls, and the roof well secured. Cabbages, according to Mr Talbot, cannot be advantageously grown, on account of the ravages committed on them by insects. The raising of garden-stuffs is found very profitable in the neighbourhood of Montreal, where, for reasons not fully explained, they are always exceedingly dear.*

Floriculture, a still more elegant but less necessary pursuit, attracts no attention, though nature in this department has been equally profuse in its materials. Meadows and the banks of rivers and lakes present, in many places, flower-beds rivalling the finest that art can

* Shirreff, pp. 183, 140. Talbot, vol. ii. Statistical Sketches by a Backwoodsman (London, 1833), p. 77. Backwoods, pp. 143, 144, 301.302.

produce. The violet, the lily, the orchidea, and others which adorn our meads and gardens, appear under many elegant varieties, accompanied with several species never seen in this country. It is to be regretted, however, that, amid such a vast assemblage of flowers, there are few that emit any fragrance. The violet itself delights the eye only. It has even been said of Canada, in general terms, that its flowers are without scent, and its birds without song. But a lady, who viewed this subject with the eye of an amateur, discovered several agreeable exceptions; among which she mentions the wild rose, the lily of the valley, as well as the water lily; a peculiar species called the milk-weed; the purple monarda, which is fragrance all over, and retains it even after months of exposure to the wintry atmosphere. All the mints are strongly scented; and some of the trees, particularly the swamp cedar and the balsam poplar, give a delightful odour.

That singular species of maple which is filled with a saccharine juice is not to be overlooked by the Canadian cultivator. Where his property contains any trees of this description, a large group at least should be preserved, for the purpose of supplying sugar. The best season for obtaining it is about the beginning of April, when the spring is far advanced, yet the cold still severe; and the most favourable day is one of bright sunshine, following a frosty night. The tree continues to run for about a month. It is commonly opened by a simple cut with an axe; but a hole bored with an auger is said to be still more efficacious. The liquor, which immediately flows out, is conveyed by a hollow tube or spout to long troughs, and sometimes into large buckets or tubs, placed beneath. The sap taken off during the day is boiled in the evening. The first boiling converts the juice into molasses; and then a more careful one follows, by which it is made into sugar. During this last process, the scum that rises to the top must be carefully removed, otherwise it will materially injure the flavour. The substance

then consolidates into hard cakes, which, when broken, resemble sugar-candy. Mr Evans recommends not to boil it so hard, but to allow the moisture to pass off by holes made in the barrel; and another writer advises to purify it before boiling, by straining through flannel, after the manner of a jelly-bag. It is nearly in the state of West Indian muscovado, to which it is by some thought little inferior, and by others even preferred. For sweetmeats, cakes, and sauces, it seems to answer extremely well; and the price is from 4d. to 7½d. a-pound. Mr Talbot reckons that 500 lbs. may be produced with no other machinery than a metal boiler of thirty gallons, costing £2, 10s.; 150 troughs, at 16s. 3d. per 100; 8 reservoirs, 4s. each; and 4 buckets, 2s. each. The troughs may be made by the farmer or his servants. The operation, indeed, would scarcely pay if labourers were to be hired; but, as the season for it occurs before any of the common farm-work can be attempted, those already on the land may be advantageously employed in producing at least a quantity for domestic use. The refuse, or sedimentary part of the sap, yields good vinegar.*

Agriculture, considered as a scientific process, is still in a very low state throughout Canada. The French *habitans* had set a very bad example in every thing except industry; and the British immigrants, often uneducated, and wholly occupied in mere manual labour, have not advanced much beyond them. No idea is entertained of a rotation of crops, whereby the land may be kept constantly in good condition. The same species of grain is raised year after year from the ground as long as the produce will pay the expense of working it; and when this ceases, it is abandoned to weeds and thistles, till, by long rest, it becomes fit for a fresh application. On the subject of manure, a complete infatuation appears to prevail. Instead of regarding it as the most valuable means of fertilizing a farm, they view it as a nuisance which must be got rid of; the old settlers, accordingly, avail them-

* Backwoods, pp. 238-253, 155-157. Evans' Guide, p. 105-108. Talbot, vol. i. pp. 277, 296-298.

selves of the leisure of winter to cart theirs to the river, whence it is carried down by the stream. The British, for the most part, seek only to convey it from the vicinity of the stable, or remove the stable itself, which, being generally of light and portable materials, is sometimes the easier task. Better notions, however, begin to be entertained. A zeal for improvement pervades many of the more intelligent inhabitants; and their views have been seconded by the legislature, who have, on certain conditions, appropriated small sums to defray the expense of agricultural societies in each district. The recent influx from this country of emigrants, possessed of intelligence and capital, can scarcely fail to enlighten the general body, at least as to errors so gross as those to which they are at present addicted.

After every improvement, however, it would appear that the agriculture of Canada must be carried on in a ruder manner, and by hastier and rougher processes than are practised in Britain. Hence farmers from the United Kingdom, being reluctant to conform to their looser system, are apt to bestow a disproportionate labour and capital on operations which will not repay them. It has even been asserted, that the emigrant thrives better who goes out without any acquaintance with agriculture at all. A knowledge, however, of its principles must undoubtedly be beneficial to the young settler; though, perhaps, the circumstance of being long accustomed to a particular mode may be a bad preparation for farming under circumstances so very different. The mode of reaping by cutting the grain with a species of scythe, so as to throw it into a kind of frame, called, from its form, a cradle, must appear to an Englishman very slovenly. But though this does not make such good work as the sickle, it is much more expeditious, as an expert cradler can clear from two to three acres in a day. The grain, when cut, is not arranged in sheaves or stooks, but, after drying on the ground, is carried direct into the barn,—a method which is probably necessary to preserve it from the severity of the winter-frosts.

The thrashing-machine has not yet been introduced; and many of the old settlers, instead of the flail, employ the rude mode of treading out the grain by oxen. It is thus rendered so dirty, as to be unfit for any other purpose than distilling; but the emigrants from this country seldom adopt so rude and wasteful a process.*

Hunting and fishing, though they do not yet form regular branches of national industry, are nevertheless deserving of notice, as connected with natural produce. Among the expectations which lure the British settler to America, one of the most attractive appears to be the almost unlimited scope for hunting in a country of wild woodland—where no game-laws embarrass the sportsman, and whence he may expect to derive an agreeable addition to his supply of food. Yet it is a fact that the colonists scarcely ever take a gun into their hands. Dr Dunlop thinks it can only be accounted for by the perversity of human nature and the exclusive zest of what is forbidden, that Toronto, situated in the heart of this great forest, is worse supplied with game than any town in England. But, after all, the woods do not seem so productive in this respect as might at first view be supposed. Mr Shirreff, who has made it a particular study to dispel all illusions respecting that part of the world, represents this deficiency as miserable, and declares he has seen more game in half an hour in Scotland than in all his wanderings through Canada. This appears an exaggerated statement, though Mr Magrath observes, that the birds called game, as they do not find food in the forest, multiply only as the land is cleared; hence the old cultivated districts on the Detroit and Niagara afford the best shooting in Upper Canada. A particular species of pheasant, considered sometimes as a large partridge, is the most common; but though the flesh is delicate, the flavour is very often injured by feeding on the buds of spruce. The quail, considered

* Pickering, pp. 65, 80, 89, 98. Statistical Sketches, pp. 77, 104, 105. Ferguson's Practical Notes, p. 263. Shirreff, pp. 341, 368-370.

by Dr Dunlop as a small partridge, is common in the Home and other western districts. The woodcock and snipe appear in great numbers in spring and autumn, particularly the latter season. Wild ducks of various kinds abound in marshes, and on the borders of lakes. Geese and swans merely pass and repass between warmer and colder climates, without making any sojourn. The turkey, in the London and Western districts, to which he is confined, is considered the most important of the feathered game; the colour is dark, and his flesh nearly resembles that of our domestic species. But no bird equals in number the wild pigeons which, at particular seasons, move in vast flocks, or rather swarms, that darken the air like locusts. A body of them once hovered three or four days over the capital, when a continued war was carried on against them by all who could muster fire-arms of any description. The feathered tribes, in unfrequented places, fall easy victims, owing to their having no fear of man. Sir George Head has seen a whole covey drop one after another without the survivors being in the least degree intimidated.

Among quadrupeds, the beaver, the chief object of chase to the early settlers, is now nearly extirpated from all the range of settlement. At present the deer is the principal game. The idea of Mr Shirreff and other writers that they exist only in small numbers, is refuted by the diligent researches of Mr Magrath, a Canadian Nimrod. These animals, long hunted by the Indians, and thus accustomed to dread human art and power, fly even at a distant sound, and are never seen by a noisy pursuer. After one day's total failure from this cause, he was told that he must walk in the quietest manner, avoiding, if possible, to touch even the bough of a tree; and by this means he soon obtained complete success. Such a mode of pursuit, borrowed seemingly from the Indians, has in view rather the result of the chase than its sportful vicissitudes. A similar remark applies also to the practice of deer-stalking, or watching in concealment and

silence the approach of the animal to one of the salt-licks or springs, which are his favourite resort. Night-shooting is another process of the same kind, in which the hunter passes the hours of darkness, concealing his light till it is necessary to discover the retreat of the game. At other times, these timid creatures are driven by bands of men and dogs into a river or lake, where canoes wait to receive them: similar hunts, on a small scale, are carried on by whole tribes. It has been asserted that the Canadian deer do not afford the rich fat so much prized by the epicure; but this is ascribed to their being hunted chiefly during the winter, amid deep snow, when they are of course in meagre condition.

The bear is the most ferocious of the wild animals, yet cannot be considered as dangerous. He acts as if under a treaty of neutrality with man, whom he never attacks unless in self-defence. Yet as he scruples not to possess himself of a pig or other inmate of the farm-yard, the settler, with a view to prevention, recovery, or revenge, often becomes the assailant. He is animated also by the desire of possessing the skin, not a little prized; the flesh, considered very delicate; and the grease, which forms so valuable a pommade. The person, however, who wounds this tenant of the desert, without killing or disabling him, is placed in a very perilous predicament; and should never make the attempt without having one or two shots in reserve. The wolf is another depredator, extremely dangerous to the flocks, but who shuns the presence of man. He is not usually hunted for amusement; but, on account of his destructive qualities, the legislature have set a price on his head, which it is hoped will reduce or exterminate the race.*

Another pursuit, for which there exist ample materials, is yet scarcely in its infancy. The extensive fisheries, which enrich the maritime provinces of British America, have not hitherto created any interest in the

* Statistical Sketches, pp. 33, 39; 45-48. Shirreff, p. 390. Magrath, pp. 182, 239-266. Head's Forest Scenes and Incidents (8vo, London, 1829), p. 233.

interior. Yet its vast waters contain numerous species, which must, as the country advances, become more and more important. The salmon abounds in Ontario, and is supposed by Dr Dunlop not to visit the ocean; but Mr Magrath, observing that it never ascends above Niagara, nor is found in any lake not communicating with the sea, concludes that it does perform this voyage, however long. The usual mode of taking them, learned from the Indians, is by spearing from a canoe, particularly in the night; but there is always some risk of this frail bark being upset. The most delicate creature in those waters is that called white-fish, resembling the herring, but superior. In some places it is caught by the seine, and packed in barrels of 200 lbs., which sell at from twenty-seven to thirty shillings. The herring is also plentiful, but not very fine. Other common kinds are the trout, mullet, pike, pickerel, bass—black and white and rock—and masquinongé, a fish peculiar to the country, and highly esteemed. But all of them, it is maintained, must yield to the Mackinaw trout, found only in Lakes Huron and Superior, which weighs from twenty to forty, and even ninety pounds, and has flesh of extreme delicacy. There can be no doubt of the ultimate success of this important branch of industry; though the extent of capital required, and the distance from markets, give little encouragement to any immediate attempt on a great scale.*

* Statistical Sketches, p. 49. Pickering. Backwoods, pp. 159, 160.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

Printed by Oliver & Boyd,
Tweeddale Court, High Street, Edinburgh.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019